

NEWSPAPER

FOR/OF

RESISTANCE

IN EUROPE

NUMBER 1

OCT. 90

★★★  
LASH

DO THE RIGHT  
THING!

FIGHT THE  
POWER!



reservation of property: according to this reservation of property this newspaper stays in property of the sender as long till it has been distributed personally to the ~~9/18~~ prisoner. to "attach it to the belongings" of the ~~9/18~~ prisoner is not a personal distribution in the sense of this reservation of property. if the newspaper isn't handed out to the ~~9/18~~ prisoner personally it must be sent back to the sender with giving the reason why she/he didn't get it.



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A very, very warm hello to Malta! You see, we received your letter and were so happy about your being interested in our newspaper.

the redaction



I like the Opera

## INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF SQUATTERS AGAINST YUPPIFICATION AND MODERN CAPITALISM

on the days between Christmas and New Years Eve in Berlin

Based on the numerous eviction recently (e.g. Milano, Copenhagen, Groningen, Paris, Duisburg, Wiesbaden, W.-Berlin,...)

a mutual feeling emerged about the necessity and will to exchange our experiences and start a lasting discussion.

We want to be able to strike back together, we don't want to be bystanders, passively gazing at this political situation - especially not because we realize that until 1992 all squatted houses in Europe should be evicted.

We want to actively work on a common strategy to keep our houses and self-determined centers.

The exact program of the meeting is not ready yet; people are still working on it, but in case you are interested, please contact:

Schwarzmarkt  
Paulinenstr. 15  
2000 Hamburg 30  
BRD

mention the word: konterkariert on the envelop, so it gets to the right people.



# EDITORIAL



This is the second issue of 'Clash'. In the beginning of this editorial we want to say what we have forgotten to say in the last - our first - editorial. we are very astonished about the question of the language: this newspaper is contributed in two languages. we thought that we have expressed this very clearly in the last editorial: "...up from the beginning the paper will be published in (bad) english and in german." never mind, we have got many letters where people asked us if we want to do it in english, too. yeah, we want and we are still doing it!! for the reader of the english issue it must sound like a joke. for you: not every german reader really read the whole editorial so we have to write many things twice. but the english reader is also very funny too.

two quotations: "your english is very lively and communicative, go on like that..." and: "the idea of the newspaper is great but please: your english is not to understand, awfully. look for somebody who has it like her/his motherlanguage to help you!"

dear reader, we are sure that you will agree with us: it is impossible to do the right thing now so that everybody is really satisfied. what we are interested in, is that our english is understandable. an english issue makes no sense if nobody understands it. our suggestion: more self translated articles! the situation in the moment is that we give our best and that is an often bad school english. the most european countries have not english as their motherlanguage. so we have to repeat our last editorial a second time for the reader of the english issue: "...we will be very glad about discovered wrong translations and lists of useful words. no inhibitions. red pen is asked."

really, we need your cooperation. we are not able to perform miracles. but sometimes it is not the problem of translating in the english language, it is the problem of the different polit slangs which exist in every country. we can't translate textes if we don't really understand them in our motherlan- guages. it is nearly impossible to trans- late sentences which run over half a page and have 33 commas and the same number of hyphens or ;/0:... everybody knows this kind of language.

often there are so different definitions of terms in the different languages that you can't translate things word after word. afterward the text would have a completely other sense than in its motherlanguage. in this number there are two of this textes: the text "nightmare capitalism" and the text with a selfcritic to an action about the hungerstrike in spain out of switzerland. they were really very ab- stract and we are not sure about the translations.

## LAY-OUT

a second point we don't know how to handle is the lay-out. once again two quotations: "the lay-out of clash is really great: lively and splendid. go on like that" and the second: "your newspaper is a "bleiwüste", awfully, no pictures, boring..." (for the reader of the english issue: "blei" means lead, the metal and "wüste" means desert, it is a special german idiom for: there are only letters in the lay-out, no pictures, no fantasy, nothing.).

to this point we asked all readers: what do you think about it?

our motive to produce a "bleiwüste" (at this point: we really do not agree with this criticism!!) is the third problem we were confronted with: the price.

this newspaper is to expensive. we haven't had the slightest notion about it and this is the reason that you miss a chapter about the price in the last issue. we didn't know, or better: we did not really realize it before the first issue had been printed.

## THE CALCULATION

now for everybody: the calculation: we printed 2000 exemplars; 1500 in the german language and 500 in the english language. this cost us (and that was as cheap as possible for us) 3800 \$ = 1.90\$ for one. the most of the 500 english numbers we had to send all over europe and us, kanada, brasil and so on. we had to present the clash and we get no money for that.

hopefully this situation will be changed in future.

so we have 3800\$ : 1500 ex. = 2.50\$. now the bookshop rebate of 30% is still missing. from 3.30\$ it is 1\$. 2.50\$ plus 1\$ makes 3.50\$. we decide to sell it for 3.30\$ and the contribution is still missed in this price.



and when you now try to think about how to meet us all over europe for the edition part and the discussion you will understand that we are not able to pay everything by ourselves. impossible in the moment to sell it cheaper. one chance to make it cheaper is to produce a higher circulation. and not even the circulation we have to change the size, too. one more problem: we want to make clash cheaper but first in countries where we know that people have less money. west-germany, switzerland, denmark, norway, sweden do not belong to these countries. our first aim is to make it cheaper in countries like england, north-ireland, spain, italy and so on. that depends on the objective situation and we know the weakness of this decision. subjectively many people in so-called 'rich countries' have no money, too. we beg the book- and info-shops to looh with us for a solution. for example you give it to people without money cheaper, perhaps without the book shop rebate? another possibility would be that we open a bank account for periodical gifts so that we will be able to calculate with the money. the best solution would be a higher circulation and periodical gifts that we will be able to make the whole edition cheaper. just in the moment it is not possible.

## PART 2

let's start with this issue. at first: we've a brandnew chapter, fairy tales. we want to print in each issue a self-made fairy-tale. the idea is to build up a kind of own culture in the resistance and to make the clash interesting for kids, too. we are also sure about that there will be many grown-ups who read the stories, too. so send us your stories!! there are much more pleasing things to report about, for example: the second issue of clash, no.1, is ready. and that in spite of many mistakes we have started with. first of all we were very enthusiastic about so many positive reactions. we got masses of mail from all over the world with many solidarity critics and also with gratifying comments. for example: we have got the useful advice, that city-vorming isn't an english word but dutch, that the right expression is gentrification and if we want to be really "in" we have to write "yuppification".

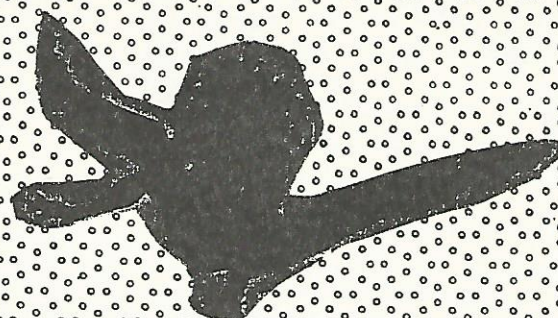
but that was not the only problem we have been confronted with and what we were able to solve. one really big problem was the masses of articles we got for this number. first we had been very glad about this and feel flattered. so we talked about everything and we feel deeply convinced that we have to print it. the result of this would have been a book and not a newspaper. and so, after a while we had the first crisis: no time for questions, many short discussions about x-different articles but no really deep discussion. another reason for this way of discussion was the fact that the most of the articles were only in one language. but we need for our discussion an english translation from everything: we are an international group! and what a nonsense to expect from all of us that we speak 7 or 8 languages! without the translations we are not able to make a common discussion or common decisions!

## THE CONCLUSIONS:

the deadline for the next number is the 20.12.90. you have to send us your article in time and translated in english. otherwise we can't promise to print it, wweather it is good or not! you have to send them ready to print. we don't want to be a typing collective! and we are not able to do that. in this issue we made the experience that we can't make ourselves objects of the importance of an international newspaper. our circumstances to do the clash are difficult and we need also time for a good discussion when we meet eachother. we don't want to make a sampler of events, we want to develop an international discussion for ourselves. we made the conclusion not to discuss everything, wweather it is important or not. in future we discuss only one or two articles because an international discussion (like in our group) needs much more knowledge and basics which we first have to develop. we have to work on it and after a time perhaps we will be able to get a clearer position. just in the moment we are not really able to decide whether an article about poll-tax or a squatt in tromso is really good because most of us don't know anything about it.



another example is to analyse the power of west-germany in the european countries. everybody, really everybody has another position on it. in the moment there are more questions in our minds than solutions or positions. further on we have to learn to work in an international workshop which should become a collective structure. we have no daily basis.



#### ABOUT THE CENSORSHIP

we are not able to print everything, whether we like it and agree to it or not. also we are not able to translate everything what we receive. this is a problem and the best solution would be much more people who work with us and a monthly clash. this are dreams of the future...!

for the moment we decide to do half-yearly or yearly a collection in booklet-form, but only in that languages we have got the articles. this collections we will give only to the info- and book shops, archives, etc. everybody can go there and copy her/himself what she/he is interested in.

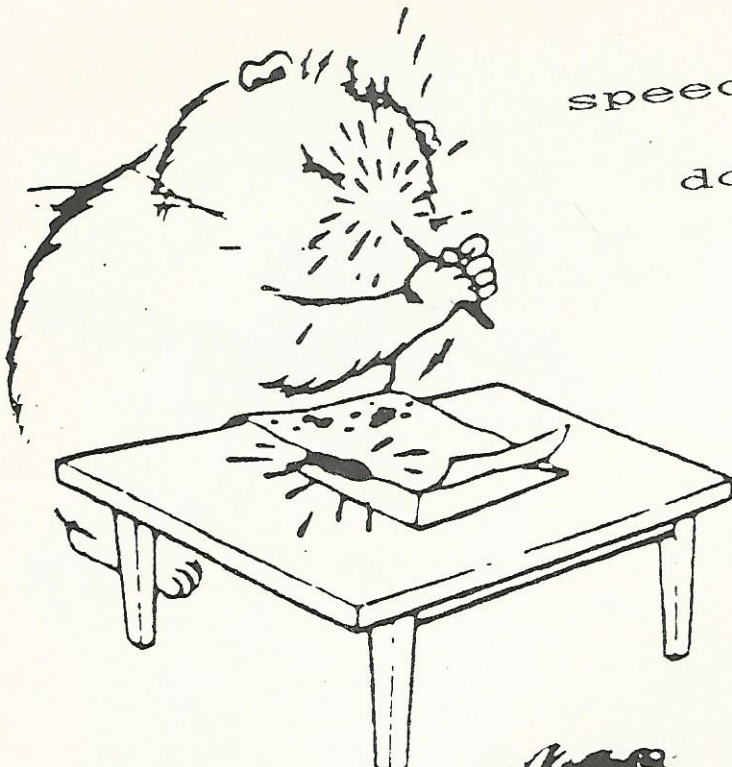
this we want to do because we think that the informations and analysis from different countries can give a clearer view of what is going on in these countries and what it has to do with european-wide and worldwide measures of counter-insurgency and for sure the grounds for our international resistance.

this means also that in future-time you will be able to become the not printed articles in your local info-shop, we therefore like to point at your own responsibility as well as to help us breaking censorship and take a walk, or a pen and paper, and go and get it and spread it around to all your friends. as we think it is even so important that everybody who is interested in the international resistance takes part in the breaking through of its isolated position which is one of the biggest interests of the ruling class. and of course everybody who feels attacked by this, takes part in trying to change the circumstances (relations of power) we are confronted with.

OUR LAST DECISION  
people who like to sell clash by hand  
get the same conditions like book- or  
infoshops: 30% bookshop rebate.

and now something  
about:





speech

domination

resistance

Cause of this difficulties two articles almost weren't be published by us:

1st) NIGHTMARE CAPITALISM (a real linguistic nightmare!!!)

It has been really written for CLASH but for whom it is written?? The task of this article was thought to be to start an international discussion by starting with a west-german position. Instead of this german lefts write about themselves for themselves in cause of themselves.

This german-centrism you find also in the contents. Specially remarkable was: where, if not in FRG, it is more obvious that sexism and the contempt of women are basic conditions for the enlarged reproduction of the capital.

do you want to reduce sexism and contempt of women in other countries???

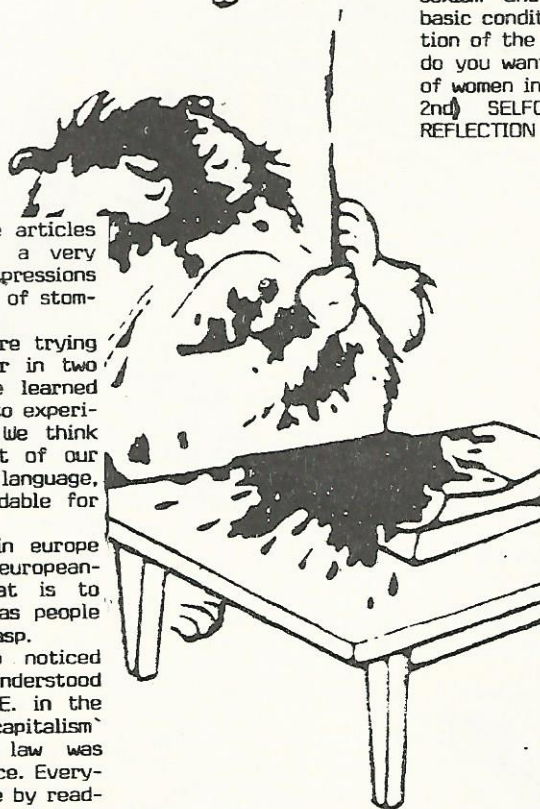
2nd) SELF-CRITICISM AND FUNDAMENTAL REFLECTION from Switzerland.

We published in this edition some articles about which we think, they've a very important content, but their expressions and vocabulary had cost us a lot of stomach-ache - grummel.

We are a group of people who are trying to publish a european newspaper in two languages. By doing that, we've learned a lot. I.e. we had the possibility to experience the importance of speech. We think that our inability to break out of our isolation is partly caused by our language, which is often hardly understandable for others.

A newspaper for/of resistance in europe is based on the will to develop a european-revolutionary consciousness. That is to be expressed by writing things as people in other countries are able to grasp.

By translating texts we also noticed that a text often cannot be understood easily in an other language. F.E. in the german text of 'nightmare capitalism' the west-german constitutional law was quoted - without telling the source. Everybody in germany knows the source by reading the quotations - but who does know them in Norway?

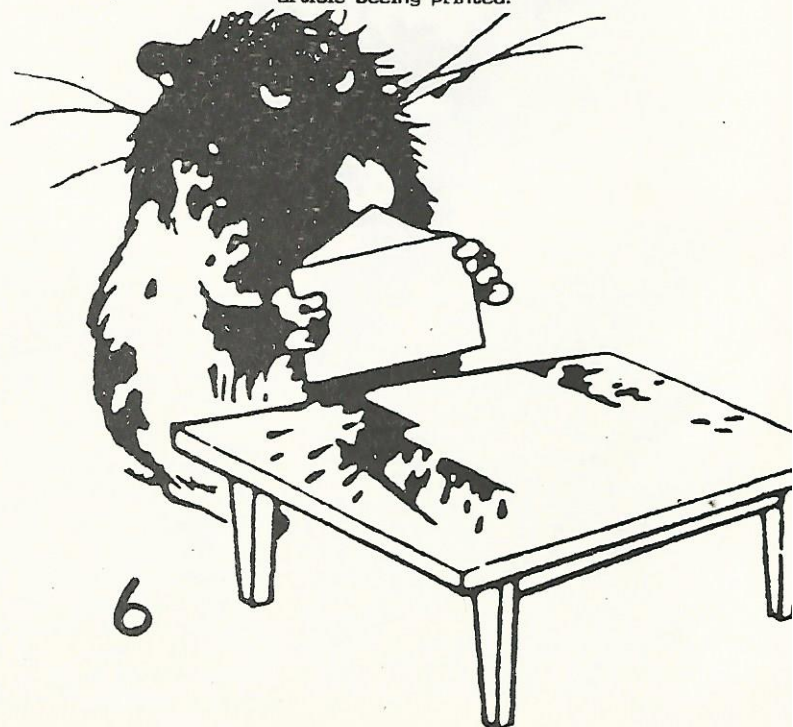


Such a linguistic disaster we will translate never more. We only publish it for the international importance of the self-criticism expressed and also we like partly their ideas of revolutionary mobilisation. Only by translating this article we noticed the expand of phrasemongering, for example in sentences as the following: 'How proletarian collectivity and with it class consciousness, class solidarity, proletarian internationalism can be built up and developed?' But also only by translating we noticed how we fill the gaps of content caused by all this single phrases ourselves, reading such an article. We interpret into it which isn't written there - on the background of our history and discussions, without noticing it. Nobody knows, whether this is according to what the authors will say. And this is for us an important self-criticism. For your noticing how is your style of writing we demand from all of you - but specially from those of german-speaking countries - to translate your articles yourself into at least one other than your mother-language. For we are not your translation-office, are we? Otherwise there is no guarantee for your article being printed.


In an other text it is for exaple written a lot about the 'revolutionary class consciousness' or about the demand for a 'revolutionary project in western europe', which class, which european people do you want to reach writing in such a way? The intelligencia? Or do you want to publish a textbook or a reference book concerning political slang? We ask you severly to think about the connection between speech and domination.

Even in german speaking countries the slang is hardly to understood for anybody else than insiders. How do you imagine to be understood by people of other countries with a total different political and cultural background?

Speech imparts history and your speech is only understandable by people who knows about your history, if it's understandable at all. Our project is not based on the knowledge of each countries history by our readers, but simply to explain this history.







another, or if it stormed very hard and their selfmade huts seemed not to be so strong and had to be repaired. But they were 14 gnomes and did everything together so they only had fun to do these odd jobs. Even though they sometimes had small arguments they still loved each other very much and wished each other the best and the most beautiful.

They also knew they couldn't get on without each other, that they needed each other for help if they ever have problems. For example the time a gnome was very sick and they had to call a doctor-gnome cause the other 13 gnomes didn't know what to do:

Two of the gnomes went to the White Gnomes, how the group of doctor gnomes were called which lived a bit further away in the forest. These doctor-gnomes came back with the other two and healed our ill gnome with a balanced cure of stinging nettle tea and various grains. All the gnomes were extremely happy when they saw the ill gnome got well again and showered presents on the doctor-gnomes of rare nuts and delicious fruits they gathered and stored.

And on this way the 14 gnomes had lived for many many years in the open space in the forest with its towering trees and almost impenetrable bushes. And they were very happy. And they would have stood happy if not, one bad day, a so called 'estate agent' had shown up.

The 'estate agent' found the forest very beautiful too and began to investigate the forest. Alas, that wouldn't have been so bad but the 'estate agent' was a 'estate agent'. An 'estate agent' isn't someone like our gnomes which worked and shared to be able to live, but someone who buys huts and houses from one gnome to sell it to another in order to earn a lot of money. But our gnomes didn't know that yet. They actually didn't know what selling or 'money' is. Because why do you need money if you are able to find everything you need or make it by yourself or exchange it? Well, this 'estate agent' decided immediately to register the forest and to buy it then, even though for centuries it haven't been belonging to anyone. But he made an agreement with the so-called 'legal authorities' of the area; he could buy the forest if he would restructure it and make further developments on it. Our gnomes didn't understand this so well.

Resemblances aren't avoided or concealed

#### A fairy-tale

For a long, long time they have been living here in this forest with its towering trees, almost impenetrable bushes, in an area not so far from here.

These 14 gnomes had once, a long time ago, searched for a beautiful open space in this huge forest and decided to go and live there. At that time there were many dwellers in the forest, both animals and gnomes. Everyone had their own place and they all were happy as it was. It had been like this for years and it would stay like this for many more years, or so they thought.

The gnomes had cleared away the large rocks and small rocks in their open space in the woods. They left all the toadstools to use as seats, built small huts to sleep in, and planted various sorts of vegetables to eat. They also collected roots, berries and nuts from different places in the rich peaceful forest. Sometimes there came groups of travelling gnomes and they exchanged food and other things that they could use with each other.

Occasionally they went to the Grand Gnomes Party where they met other gnomes from other forests and other areas. They always had lots of fun when they were partying, drank berry and carrot juice. And went crazy about the specialities from other areas the other gnomes brought with them. They always brought delicious things themselves.

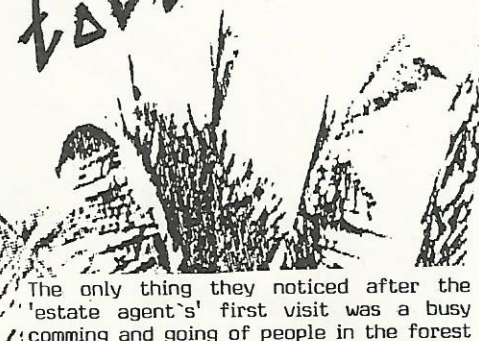
They had once held the Grand Gnomes Party by their own open space, the party went on for three days and three nights because they had enjoyed it so much. Afterwards they were all very tired but also very happy and relieved because it had been a success.

Our 14 gnomes had made many new friends which asked 1001 questions about the forest and the open place where they had lived for so long. All their new friends agreed that it was a very beautiful open space and when the party was over and they all returned to their homes they

wished the 14 gnomes good luck and prosperity. And our gnomes had with them much prosperity and good luck, they never had any problems, at the most a bruise from romping too hard with each

A fairy-

tale



The only thing they noticed after the 'estate agent's' first visit was a busy coming and going of people in the forest once so peaceful.

All sorts of 'official persons' appeared with strange apparatuses and machines cutting trees and driving away the animals. They came to the 14 gnomes too and told them the forest belongs to the 'estate agent' now and the gnomes have to go and live somewhere else. But the gnomes had lived so long in their beautiful open space and always had been happy there. Cause of this they really didn't want to go and live somewhere else.

They told this the people with the strange machines too. These people became very angry saying the gnomes should go to the so-called legal authorities. There they would hear that the whole story is right and they really have to leave. And so our gnomes went to the so-called legal authorities to see like the situation is.

They thought these 'legal authorities' to be a council of wise women and men who would help them to find a solution for their problems with the estate agent, so that they can continue to live happily in the forest for many more years.

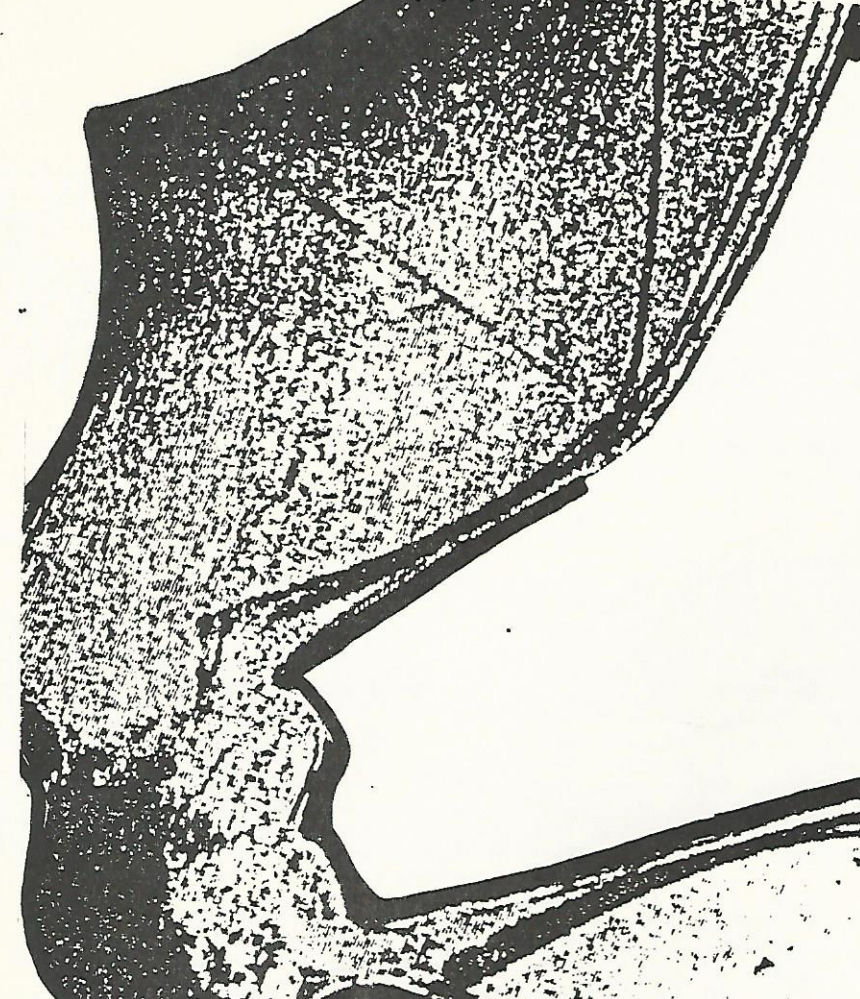
But they were very surprised finding out the 'legal authorities' made up by counters, offices and officials sending our gnomes to other officials, counters and offices.

The 14 gnomes searched 19 days, sent from post to pillar to find out the so-called legal authorities' real representative. And when they found him finally they had to wait another day because this official was in a meeting and had no time to hear the problems of our gnomes. When they were finally allowed into the office of this official they saw a grim figure with a moustache, a pipe, golden cuffs and black leather shoes sitting behind a heavy oak-wood desk. But they noticed most a life-sized foto of the official, together with the 'estate agent' who bought their forest.

Even so the gnomes explained their problems

but they didn't understand any of it.





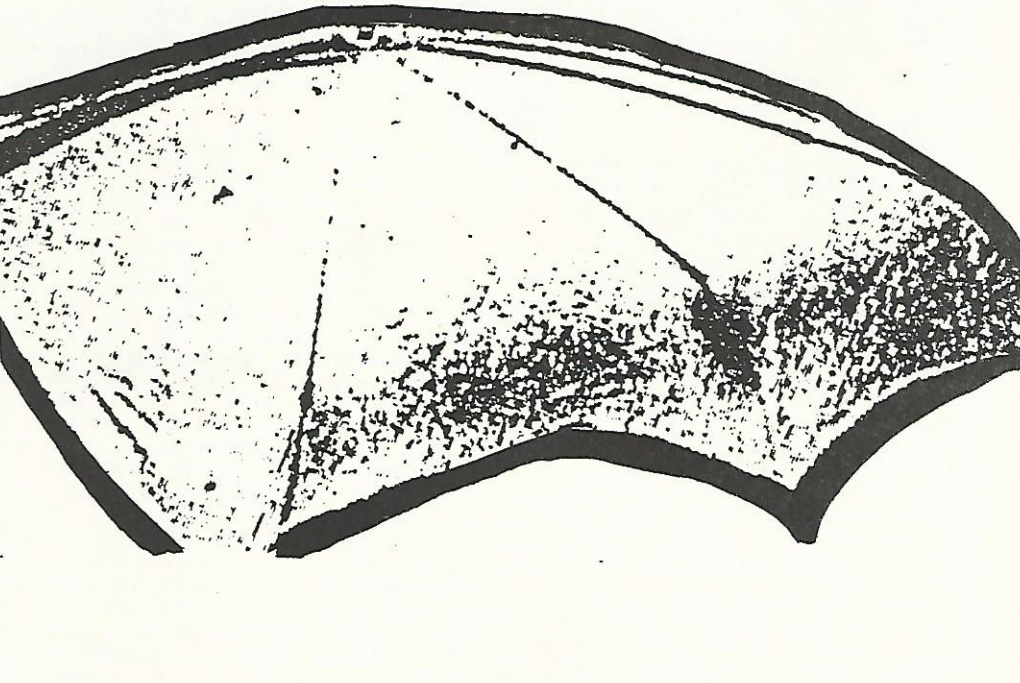
But luckily their friends from other forests and areas had heard what had happened to our 14 gnomes. Because just at that moment, in a neighbouring forest, there was another Grand Gnomes Party held, where all gnomes full of amazement heard the story of our gnomes. And because everyone could remember the last Grand Gnome Party in the beautiful open place in the large and peaceful forest, all the gnomes agreed that our 14 gnomes had been submitted to great injustice. The whole party long it was discussed what had happened and finally it was decided that this was intolerable! They all wanted to go and look at the open place so that they could see by themselves what it looks like now. And when they came to the open place they saw 14 destroyed huts, smashed vegetables and food stools. But the 'estate agent' was nowhere to be seen, nor any building work, and so they decided to build up the huts for our gnomes and to ask the 14 to go and live there again.

Suddenly the official was finished with talking, he said something like 'Thank You very much for this enlightening conversation, my gnomes, and we hope for your total co-operation. Come again'. But our gnomes were happy they could leave again and went back to their beautiful open space in the forest. But gradually the 14 gnomes became less happy, their forrest changed slowly into a large building-site. Cause of this they could hardly find nuts and berries anymore.

Sometimes their vegetables were driven over and often their houses shook due to the violence of their machines. Our 14 gnomes really didn't know what to do to any more, sometimes they asked the officials if they could go and work somewhere else, but the officials only became more angry and said that the gnomes must really move now.

One time it happened that the gnomes came home after a long journey in search of food - which was nearly impossible to find these days - and found that six huts were smashed up!

The gnomes were at the end of their tether, what should they do now? There were also things written on the other huts like 'Fuck off gnomes'. Our 14 gnomes didn't understand it. But the following day these officials came by to ask how it was going with the gnomes. Now, said, the gnomes, not very good because our houses have been destroyed. But the official wasn't surprised at all, he only said that the gnomes have to leave within 14 days, because the 'state agent' wants to build on their open place now.



The gnomes began to lose heart, some of them would rather go and live at their friends in other forests to be able to be happy again. But three of the gnomes totally didn't want to go away, because they had always lived so happily in their open place in the forest. But also this three were taken out off their houses a few weeks later by a lot of officials from the 'legal authorities' - that all looked the same - and only let free when they were out of the forest. The last thing what they saw was that their self-made huts were immediately destroyed, and it was with difficulty that they could

hold back their tears, they had had so much sadness.

But the 14 had too many good memories of their open place and would rather not go back and have to build up from the start again. In the meantime they were living in another forest with other gnomes and were happy again. And this is how seven other dear gnomes went to live in the beautiful open place in the big forest. Together with other gnomes they built up the huts again, planted new vegetables and tried to be happy. They told all the other gnomes that still hadn't heard what had happened and what their plans were and they had a lot of help. Even from gnomes who they totally didn't know. And gradually they managed together to breath new life into it.





After a few weeks seven of the huts were ready and they could begin to think about the group bigger.

But no, because the official came by quickly and again began with a long story. But the gnomes knew the story already and especially they know how the story would be finished.

They didn't need to hear the story again and didn't listen to the official any more. He became very angry and began to threaten with his officials - the ones that all looks the same.

The gnomes had heard enough and then they threw out the official of their forest. They were so tired of his stories.

They were also gnomes that visited the 'estate agent' to make it clear to him that he must have the open place in peace. They had heard about other open spaces that had been bought by the same 'estate agent' and where he also hadn't built anything, or where only the friends of the estate agent and of the 'official' lived.

And it became more clear to the gnomes that they weren't the only ones being pushed into a corner, that there were many other gnomes in the same situation with the same problems.

Our seven gnomes visited these other gnomes and talked about each others situation, and about possible solutions. Anyway, it had become clear that they should try together to stop this 'estate agent' and this 'official' if they had more shady plans regardless of which gnomes were the victims.

But the 'estate agent' had lots of money and especially many friends amongst the 'officials'. One day the beautiful open space was trashed again by a few hundred officials - that all looked the same. But this time the 'estate agent' and the 'official' became really angry; they locked up the seven gnomes to make sure that the gnomes couldn't go back to the open space in the forest. Their plans were more important than the lives of our dear gnomes, and so the seven gnomes disappeared behind bars for a long time.

And so this is the end of the fairy-tale for now, so it seems. But if you should take a good look at the forest, then the end of a fairy tale should be:

TO BE CONTINUED  
TO BE CONTINUED !!!



we now print a leaflet which says something about the actual situation of squatting in paris

# REALESTATE

## Eviction paris

### eviction of two squatted houses in paris

according to public statistic in paris are at present 189 squatted houses. for the city it must be an enormous number, so that they decided to act very brutally. the eviction of the two biggest squatted houses has made 300 people (among them 150 children) homeless. the families now camp on a square in paris and they start to organize their life on very difficult conditions (the food, the spreading of infos, the children...). people from paris said that there is an enormous solidarity from the people who are living in the district. the people who live there bring food, blankets and mattresses. neither the city nor the government feel responsible for the people. two weeks later, at 16.mai, was an eviction-demonstration with 2000 people, among them families and quite a few children of the district. the demonstration was broken up very brutally by the cops.

the following text is a summary of 4 leaflets of the "comité des mal-logés", a comité in which the so-called "social squatters" organize themselves (actually first of all immigrants and foreign families). the comité exists since january 87 and fights against housing-shortage. it achieves resistance against legal and illegal evictions and organizes mal-logés. mal-logés translated means those who live in houses which are in a bad condition or in bad surroundings. the comité is for those who stand on the lowest place of the housing-market-list: for foreign families, families with low income, unemployed persons, persons who get welfare aid, mothers who educate their children alone, foreigners and so on. the comité fights for social-house building remains to the mal-logés.

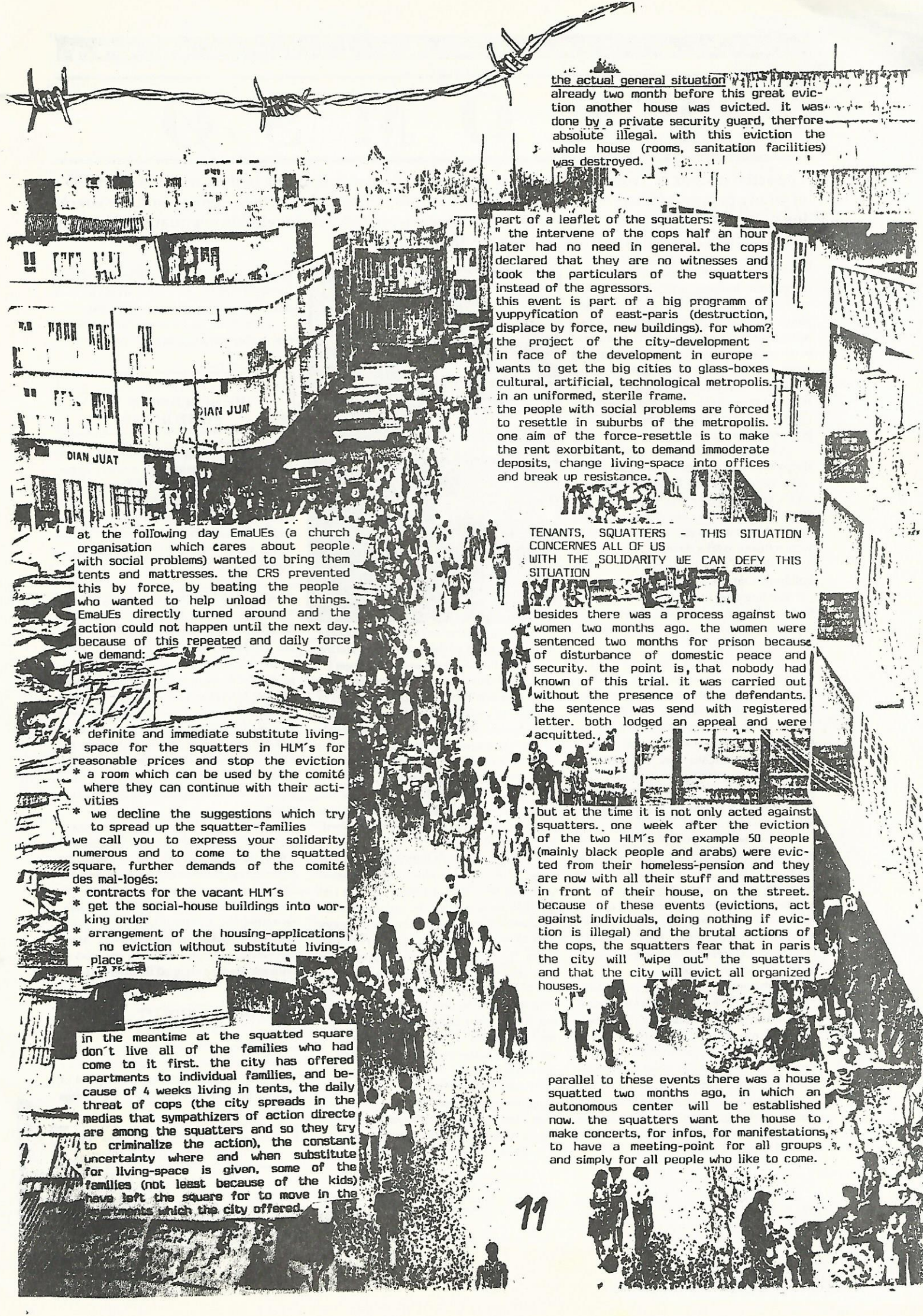
### "it's enough !!!"

at wednesday the 2. may, two houses were evicted which have been squatted since 1986 (67, rue de vignoles, 20.arrondissement, 92 rue de la fontaine rois, 21.arrondissement). we remember that the squatting happened because of series of criminal fire-raising in the 20. arrondissement, which claims the life of one person and left quite a few people without home. the squatting of the two houses was the first action of the comité des mal-logés. both buildings are social-house buildings in a lousy condition and extortionate rent.

in the early morning of the 2. may 2000 CRS (special french cops) besiege the both districts and with force they evict the families who live in the houses:

300 people, among them 153 children. the squatters were spread up in various four different places in the region in accommodate-houses. experience proved the people that this emergency-accommodation is no definite substitute living-space. so they places themselves immediately to the "place de la réunion" in the 20. arrondissement.





the actual general situation already two month before this great eviction another house was evicted. it was done by a private security guard, therefore absolute illegal. with this eviction the whole house (rooms, sanitation facilities) was destroyed.

part of a leaflet of the squatters:  
"the intervene of the cops half an hour later had no need in general. the cops declared that they are no witnesses and took the particulars of the squatters instead of the aggressors.  
this event is part of a big programm of yuppyfication of east-paris (destruction, displace by force, new buildings). for whom? the project of the city-development - in face of the development in europe - wants to get the big cities to glass-boxes cultural, artificial, technological metropolis. in an uniformed, sterile frame.  
the people with social problems are forced to resettle in suburbs of the metropolis. one aim of the force-resettle is to make the rent exorbitant, to demand immoderate deposits, change living-space into offices and break up resistance.

at the following day EmaUEs (a church organisation which cares about people with social problems) wanted to bring them tents and mattresses. the CRS prevented this by force, by beating the people who wanted to help unload the things. EmaUEs directly turned around and the action could not happen until the next day. because of this repeated and daily force we demand:

- \* definite and immediate substitute living-space for the squatters in HLM's for reasonable prices and stop the eviction
- \* a room which can be used by the comité where they can continue with their activities
- \* we decline the suggestions which try to spread up the squatter-families
- \* we call you to express your solidarity numerous and to come to the squatted square, further demands of the comité des mal-logés:
- \* contracts for the vacant HLM's
- \* get the social-house buildings into working order
- \* arrangement of the housing-applications
- \* no eviction without substitute living-place

in the meantime at the squatted square don't live all of the families who had come to it first. the city has offered apartments to individual families, and because of 4 weeks living in tents, the daily threat of cops (the city spreads in the medias that sympathizers of action directe are among the squatters and so they try to criminalize the action), the constant uncertainty where and when substitute for living-space is given, some of the families (not least because of the kids) have left the square for to move in the apartments which the city offered.

TENANTS, SQUATTERS - THIS SITUATION CONCERNES ALL OF US WITH THE SOLIDARITY WE CAN DEFY THIS SITUATION

besides there was a process against two women two months ago. the women were sentenced two months for prison because of disturbance of domestic peace and security. the point is, that nobody had known of this trial. it was carried out without the presence of the defendants. the sentence was send with registered letter. both lodged an appeal and were acquitted.

but at the time it is not only acted against squatters. one week after the eviction of the two HLM's for example 50 people (mainly black people and arabs) were evicted from their homeless-pension and they are now with all their stuff and mattresses in front of their house, on the street. because of these events (evictions, act against individuals, doing nothing if eviction is illegal) and the brutal actions of the cops, the squatters fear that in paris the city will "wipe out" the squatters and that the city will evict all organized houses.

parallel to these events there was a house squatted two months ago, in which an autonomous center will be established now. the squatters want the house to make concerts, for infos, for manifestations, to have a meeting-point for all groups and simply for all people who like to come.



# T R O M S Ø

The activist scene of Tromsø today has its origins in the punk uprising in the early 80's when 100's of young people had had enough. After several furious street fights with the police, and the wrecking of banks, fur shops etc., an enormous house was squatted. The inevitable negotiations between the squatters and the municipal authorities then started.

The clashes between punks and police continued, but the town leaders were "generous" enough to "give" the activists a house which was about the same size as the first squat. The hard-core of the activists got tired of the police repression, and after a couple of years most of them moved to the south of Norway to start anew. The result was a softening of the struggle, and the house disappeared into the municipal grasp. But a new generation was growing up....

On May 24th 1990, the news hit the sleepy town of Tromsø. The struggle to preserve the old wooden houses in the town centre reached a more militant phase. The "October house" in Grønnegata had been squatted by a group of young people who were refusing to tolerate the policy of demolition which is usually the fate of these old buildings that the german soldiers kindly left standing after 1945. These young people had no recollection of the war, they had only experienced the rampage of the social - democrats.

From the mid -70's, Grønnegata 35 was the centre of the active scene of AKP'ers (The Workers Communist Party, marx-leninists). In these turbulent years the house suffered numerous attacks from fascists. In the autumn of '77, the house was bombed and partially destroyed. It was later repaired, and until '87 it was again used as a centre. After a fire it was left empty and nothing was done to improve its condition until it received new inhabitants in 1990.

3 days before the take-over, the building council had decided to tear down the "October House", thus provoking the radical youth to take action. This was, however, not their only reason, they also felt a need to create an autonomous activity centre as an alternative to the degenerated municipally controlled youth centre, where their organization, "Lillebror", resided.

In the new squat, now re-named the "May House" (!), they started an info-café in co-operation with the "Lillebror" info-shop, they made room for the "Action group against the Militarization of North Norway", a radio production studio not to mention dormitories for the homeless.

The house was visited by many supporters, sympathizers and former occupants. The police kept well away, and everything seemed to be a success.



At about 4 a.m. on May 27th, a gang of 30 fascists attacked the house. They started smashing the windows and tried to get in. They used crowbars, sledgehammers, steel poles and iron bars, but did not succeed in destroying the barricades. A part of the wall was wrecked, and the fascists were now able to enter the house. The ten squatters present at the time were faced by 20 angry men who were eager for a fight. However, the squatters managed to talk their way out of the mess and no-one was hurt. The house was partially destroyed and equipment worth 10.000 kr was stolen.

This brutal attack didn't come as a surprise, as similar incidents had happened before in this small fishing town, the last time to a squat in 1987. The barricades were built as a defence against the fascists more than to protect the squat against police attacks. The attack was not a gang war or a "drunken incident" as the police claimed.

After a long discussion they decided on a change of tactics. The group of squatters didn't want to fight back in a violent manner, as this would probably lead to a sort of suicidal gang war. The barricades were removed and re-decorating started. The house was painted, the roof was fixed, windows repaired etc. This strategy seemed to produce better results as the squatters received massive support for their project.

The fascists never came back, but new

enemies appeared. The municipal authorities were more set on a new parking lot, and one night the house was demolished.

A sad end for the house, but a new beginning for the radical struggle in Tromsø.....

## -BUSH- THE BUTCHER OF THE WHITE HOUSE

On the 18th. of August the first demonstration in Europe against the military aggression in the Gulf took place in Tromsø. Anti-militarists, anarchists and socialists gathered in the streets, drumming on oil barrels, and disturbed the peace caused by the mass media censorship in Norway and rest of Europe and USA.

## "SAND IN THE MACHINERY"

Two days later, on the 20th of August the Sand in the Machinery Operation was launched in Tromsø. O.S.I.T.M. is an international (mostly European) telefax and letter campaign against the war preparations of USA, NATO and several other countries in Western Europe. The campaign deals with appeals for action against the coming imperialistic war between north and south. Action has been taken in several countries, mostly Denmark and Norway, and a lot of reports have been spread through this joint effort.

On the 21st of September the norwegian costal guard vessel "K/V Andenes" left for the Gulf - as a political support to the imperialistic oil interests of USA and the EEC. This support met protests from people in Tromsø, and during September two demonstrations against the ship were held at the port of Harstad in Northern Norway. At the second demonstration the ship was blocked with people who chained themselves to the gangway.

## IRAQ OUT OF KUWAIT - USA OUT OF THE GULF

On Saturday 22nd of September another demonstration against the militarism in the Gulf took place in Tromsø, where a lot of people from all kind of left wing groups participated.

Lillebor Bokcafé Ungdommens Hus  
P.O. Box 1218 N-9001 Tromsø



## NAZI ATTACK AGAINST BLITZ COLLECTIVES the price of anti-racist struggle

In Welhavens gate 14, Oslo, a collective of Blitz activists had it's home for about 4 years, until the house was destroyed by a fascist firebomb attack on June 21st. The neighbouring house, W12, squatted for 6 weeks, was abandoned after the fire.

FMI, ("the people's movement against immigration") is one of the biggest and most active racist organizations in Norway, with it's 22.000 members and slightly militant approach. Anti-racists from SOS Rasisme and the Blitz youth house scene have during the last two years made it their task to stop this organization from spreading its dirt in public. In 1988 and -89 their national meetings were disturbed by massive anti-racist demonstrations. Both times the meeting place was held under siege for many hours, and there were fierce fights between racists and anti-racists in the streets of Arendal (minor town in the south of Norway, the stronghold of FMI). After the last confrontation in Arendal april 89, the reaction of the right-wing radicals hit the Blitz house. At a concert molotovs were thrown in, and the staircase was put on fire. Luckily, people reacted quickly and managed to put out the fire, so the damages were minor. Nobody got injured after this incident, and the bombers were arrested half an hour afterwards. There was no organized group behind this spontaneous action, but it was our first experience of militant right-wing reaction in a long time.

On June 16th this year, 100 activists from Blitz went to Tönsberg to stop FMI from staging their public propaganda show there. A total of 500 local anti-racists joined the blockade, and the racists were driven out of town. After this incident, we got warnings about nazis wanting revenge, but the attack five days later still came as a shock.

The firebombs were thrown in at 2 a.m. in the morning, and most people were asleep. A young german guest didn't get out by the stairs. He jumped out of a window on the third floor and was seriously hurt. After a long stay in hospital he is now better, but is injured for life.

The house of W14 was totally wrecked by the fire, and the squatters next door decided to abandon the building and start over some place else, since the situation had become utterly hopeless after the fire. 41 people lost their homes because of this attack.

We still don't know exactly who did this, but we have reasons to believe they belong to a certain gang of militant right-wing extremists.

In the days before and after the attack, 2 cars were hassling people nearby our houses, threatening to burn down all the "Blitz-houses". One of these cars got it's windows smashed when out on a "hassle patrol" nearby Blitz. After this we haven't seen these cars anymore, neither have we been able to track them down. One of the cars had forged licence plates, an indication of a certain level of organization.

After this attack against our scene, we have tightened our individual and collective security routines, and we are more eager than ever to smash the nazi rats.

## THE NEW FOREIGNERS LAW ACT

Recently, the Norwegian state passed a new Foreigners Law Act, made to suit the new phase of capitalist Europe. At the present, a blue-print for a new set of rules is circulating in the corridors of power. Many of the paragraphs in this blue -print are similar to the EEC's restrictive policy on refugees. The priority of this policy is to reduce the number of asylants. The wall between Europe and the 3rd world is made up of law acts, rules and paragraphs. Most 3rd world countries' populations must now obtain a visa to be let into Norway. It is also getting more difficult to get a visa, according to the new rules. The more perilous the situation in the country is, the smaller your chance of getting a visa is. For instance if you flee a country where large groups of people are persecuted. In addition, travel companies are held responsible for not checking the validity of the papers belonging to foreigners on their way to Norway, in an attempt to prevent refugees from reaching the borders of Norway to apply for asylum. The racism of the state is expressed through the policy of shutting out people from the 3rd world, people with a different colour of skin. It's a policy of fear, made to scare refugees by sending groups of asylants back to a sure death, without treating their individual applies for asylum. In this way they hope to create a signal effect that discourages other refugees.

AFA is an action group based on the co-operation of several different groups and organizations. The initiative comes from iranian and kurdic activists, who also are asylants. Their contemporary goal is to prevent the random evictions of asylants, and to defend the right to asylum. AFA has regularly had stands in the centre of Oslo, spreading information about the racist policy of the state, and the fatal consequences for its victims. AFA is also organising different actions against institutions involved in these evictions.

On August 13 about 70 people block the transit-jail for asylants and refu-

gees at Fornebu, Oslo's airport. This jail is where they are kept after their application is turned down, and where they await their eviction.

The blockade lasted for 8 hours, until the participants were arrested.

## WHAT AWAITS THE EVICTED IRANIANS

In Iran the asylants who are sent back are registrated, controlled and kept under surveillance. They are unable to work, go to school or get a place to live. For leaving the country on faked papers, they can get a two year prison sentence, and, if they get the chance to work, the state will confiscate 2 years worth of their pay. The political situation has not become any easier after the end of the Iran/Iraqi war. 10.000 people have been executed after the end of the war, and thousands are waiting in the death row.

## DEMO LIST

7.6 400 people from different anti - racist groups stage a protest march through the centre of Oslo against the new Foreigner Law Acts and state racism.

16.6 Anti -racists from all over the south -east of Norway gather in Tönsberg to prevent FMI from making a public stand. The happening was peaceful and no violent confrontations took place. The few racists who did appear were chased off with hails of rotten eggs. FMI's leader, Arne Myrdal, was run out of town. Terror police from Oslo saved his ass by tearing him out of the grasp of furious anti-racists.

21.6 A collective in Oslo burns down after a firebomb attack. The house was totally wrecked after the fire, and a 19 -year old boy was seriously injured (see article). We have reasons to believe that nazis did it.

31.7 A small group of protesters visit the Canadian embassy to show their solidarity with the armed uprising of the mohawks in Oka, Quebec, protesting against Quebecs plans to evict the indians from their last resort. After leaving the embassy, the demonstration is attacked by the police and a number of people are arrested. One is held in custody for 7 days on a charge of attacking a policeman.

13.8 70 people block the Transit -Jail for refugees at Fornebu Airport for 8 hours (see article).

In the aug/sep. several demos against the militarization in the Persian Gulf took place.

5.9 Café Strofal, a former squat that was evicted last winter, is resquatted!

6.9 400 people take part in a protest demonstration against USA/NATO's involvement in the Kuwait conflict.

Blitz, Pilestredet 30c, 0164 Oslo 1.  
Telephone 02-11 41 80 Fax 02-11 23 49



# ♂ SQUATTING IN THE NETHERLANDS ♀

## Introduction.

At the 26th of May '90 early in the morning WNC supporters took the initiative to construct barricades. Officially the eviction was set for a few days later, but it was decided to try and keep the surprise on our side. There were 2 main reasons for it: first the fact that after the street had been taken, it would be much easier to come up with certain demands, like keeping the WNC as it was. Second we had no respect for any terms the state opposed on us.

As may be clear to everyone, this decision of the people who resisted the eviction of the WNC didn't appear all of a sudden or spontaneously. The cops are (still) hunting for (hierarchical) structures to be able to convict the active radical left wing movement by using Paragr.140 (the belonging to a criminal organisation).

We work together nevertheless on terms of common aims, political agreement and/or friendship. One of the political aims of the WNC-squat was to attack the capitalist policy of the gentrification, to arise conscienceness within the population.

Another aim was to create and preserve free and self-determined places. The WNC-squatters worked on this for over 4½ years.

At the eviction of one of the biggest squats in the Netherlands, the WNC-building, at the 26th of May '90 it occurred for the first time that all people involved were arrested and kept behind bars for a longer period "for the sake of the investigation".

All people, who had been inside, were confronted with a new policy by the police and justice-dept.: the re-introduction of par.140 (being part of a criminal organisation)- which means; you were there, and therefore guilty...

This by now already notorious paragraph offered many possibilities to the state-prosecution, which were up to them still unknown to a lot of people. It would have been much more difficult for the prosecution to keep people imprisoned that long if they could only have charged them on other paragraphs, which they have at their disposal. For they would have to be forced to

prove exactly what every individual was accused of. It appeared to be very convenient to them to charge everybody with the same offence, bringing it up to the prisoners to "prove" their innocence.

It was however even more important to the state to get a clear picture of organisational links behind the resistance against the eviction. Applying par.140 opened up new possibilities, like for example interrogating people about the so-called leaders, but even more it led to increased secret service activities like tapping phones, observation etc.

The way the state treated us: varying from intimidation, isolation and attempts to "bribe" people, was a heavy experience. Being imprisoned for many weeks, being confronted with harsh circumstances inside was also new to many of us.

Now that everybody (at least for some time) is free again, it's possible to discuss about what happened. In the appeal to the higher court the prosecution asks for 9 months imprisonment. With this in prospect we need to be prepared for higher punishments. Also for future actions this will have consequences.

At first you should know that the discussion about the defence of the WNC is still not finished yet, we are in the middle of it, there's a still a lot to be said...

For this reason it's hard to give an idea of what's discussed in the different towns. First we must get clear how we think about mistakes we made and how we could use the experiences we made in the future struggle.

**WAR DECLARED, HUNTING SEASON OPENED**  
Just after the resistance against the eviction of the 'Tesselschadestraat' (nov. '89) in Am\*dam, reactionary forces in the Netherlands called for tougher approach of the squatmovement.

WNC





After building and defending the barricades the people retreated into the houses, then were about 150 people inside. They were allowed to leave the houses without being arrested. Among other one of the reasons of this free retreat was the incapability to prove who did what. Knowing that knowledge the fight for our houses doesn't end with one eviction, the pigs responsible for city-disform-policy gathered to map, observe and eventually judge the future resistance against evictions. The separated levels of repression (secret service, pigs, justice-dept) were already preparing for the eviction half a year before it happened. According to secret service information during the court case).

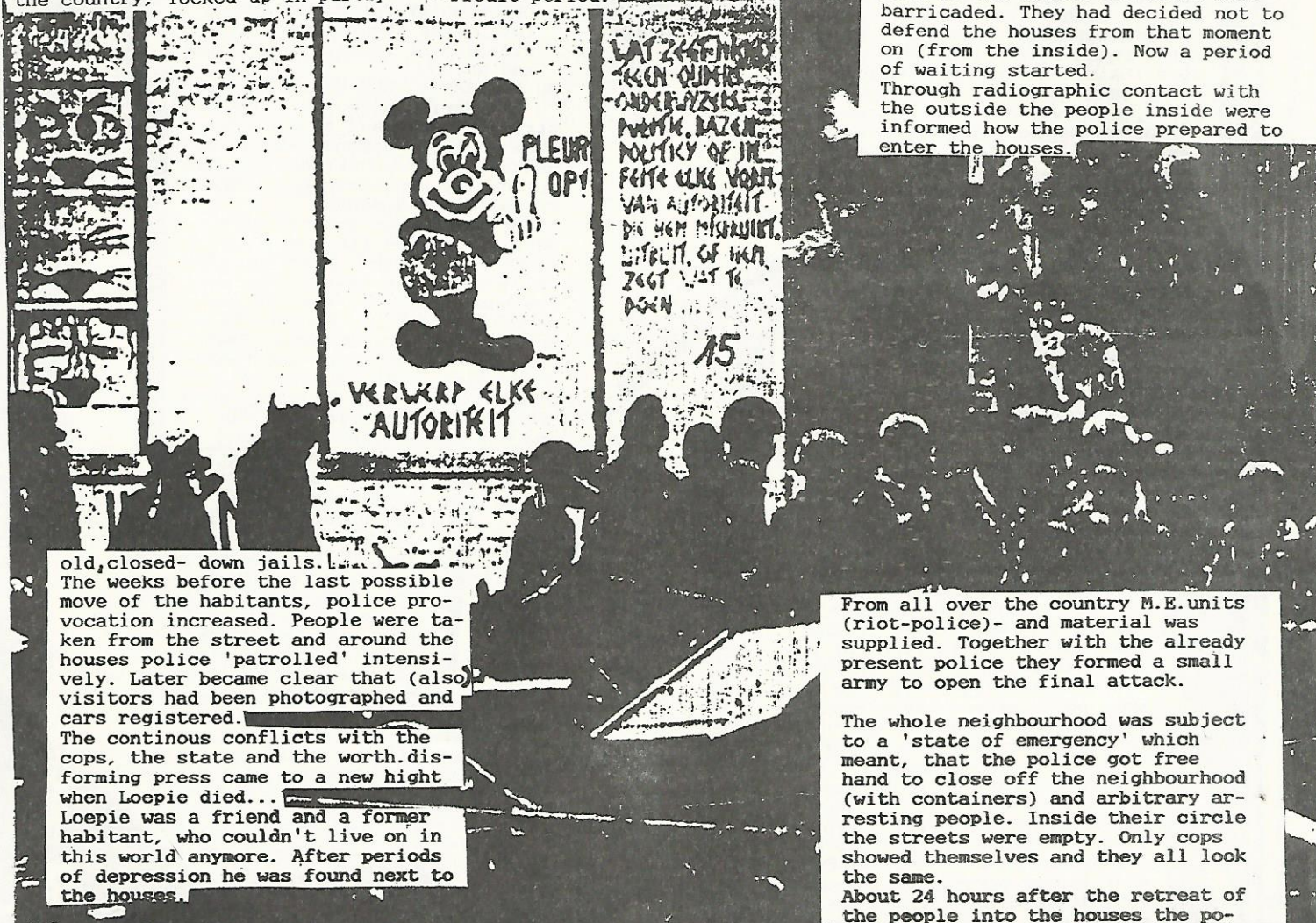
So state and media put their dirty hands on their fat bellies again. They continued the hate-campaign that had been going on for many years: Loepie was said to be "killed by violence" directly implying with this that the inhabitants of the WNC would have caused his death. The police started an enquiry and demanded for entry into the houses. Though this happened just a few weeks before the eviction, they were let inside. The police established nothing that could lead to any other conclusion than suicide. Despite of this they were still looking for some suspects. The police said they were obstructed by the justice-department to make any arrests.

Some weeks later the barricades were built in front of the houses and defended "till we get a guarantee that we can keep on working and living here" (quotation from a leaflet for the date of eviction). The roads leading to the houses were blocked, sneaky plainclothes-cops in busses were kept on a distance. A lot of people were wearing gas-masks, making it possible to stay together behind the barricades during attacks of the police. The po-

The WNC was constantly observed, police stationed at street corners registered people going in- and out the houses. The arrest of a big amount of people showed to be prepared as well from the secret service information 200 cells (shortage of cells?) were arranged and a call up for special aid units in jail was made to confront possible disturbances in prison. The people which were to be arrested would be spread all over the country, locked up in partly

Some people in the scene reacted as if it was not of their business; unpersonal, without any feeling of involvement based on 'information' from the media and first reactions of people who had known Loepie. The support of others who reacted as friends helped people to fight themselves through this difficult period.

lice couldn't assault. They just send a bulldozer in clouds of teargas. There were hours of fights because the cops tried again and again to break through. They came with bulldozers, a watercanon and lots of teargas and finally managed after 5 hours to make the people retreat in the houses. Back in the houses the doors were barricaded. They had decided not to defend the houses from that moment on (from the inside). Now a period of waiting started. Through radiographic contact with the outside the people inside were informed how the police prepared to enter the houses.



old, closed-down jails. The weeks before the last possible move of the inhabitants, police provocation increased. People were taken from the street and around the houses police 'patrolled' intensively. Later became clear that (also) visitors had been photographed and cars registered. The continuous conflicts with the cops, the state and the worth-disforming press came to a new height when Loepie died... Loepie was a friend and a former inhabitant, who couldn't live on in this world anymore. After periods of depression he was found next to the houses.

From all over the country M.E. units (riot-police)- and material was supplied. Together with the already present police they formed a small army to open the final attack.

The whole neighbourhood was subject to a 'state of emergency' which meant, that the police got free hand to close off the neighbourhood (with containers) and arbitrary arresting people. Inside their circle the streets were empty. Only cops showed themselves and they all look the same. About 24 hours after the retreat of the people into the houses the po-



In the same time we can criticize the hasty way in which people were asked to join in the defending of the houses.

From people who only talked about themselves, or their ideas we want to know how they think about this, on which moment they couldn't handle it anymore and how we can continue with these experiences. We also want to learn from the experiences of people who managed not to say a word to the cops and of the mistakes we made; to be prepared better for a next action or eviction. Every time we'll have to look again how we can, together, resist police & justice. And besides this every individual has to prepare her/himself for a confrontation with 'friendly' and 'angry' cops.

The struggle inside mainly came into the public by the hunger-strike of 20 women in a jail in Winschoten, 3 weeks after the arrest. It started with a sit-down action on the courtyard for a talk with the warden, in the building all cells were cleared-

lice started moving again. It took some hours more before the people came out of the basement (to avoid a confrontation inside the houses). They were all arrested...

At the police-station all people were closed in and charged with Paragr.141 & 162 (public violence & blockage of the road), pictures were taken.

In different prisoner-transporters people were spread all over the country either in police-stations or prisons. Some people were treated rough and/or isolated, all were intimidated and withheld from their 'rights'. During the first days everybody was interrogated often extensively. Special interrogation teams were used (all together about 80 of them).

Apparently some people were not prepared for this, they believed false promises or couldn't stand being locked up, wanted to escape...

With eyewash and/or blank intimidation they tried to find out names which had been denied by many of the defendants, and particularly so-called leaders (?!). (who did what, organisatorically) As this methods had effect on a part of the defendants, others saw themselves suddenly confronted with statements against them. When people who stayed in the same jail tried to find out who had been talking, what people had been telling the police or why, no or only a vague response came back. A situation was created in which people were not sure who to trust.

Now it's important that people are clear about this and themselves instead of hiding behind lies or silence. People who gave statements about others we don't want in our structures anymore. They disassociated from what we stand for.

out except for a matras. One woman was forced to undress herself in front of male waiters. The women decided to stop eating to emphasize their following demands:

- withdrawal of restrictions on air and recreation,
- Stopping of arbitrary sanctions (isolation, violence)
- extension of airing,
- some hours a day open cell-doors,
- opportunity for common preparation for the proces,
- stopping of isolation of NN100 and NN125.

NO PASARAN!! THEY'VE STRUCK A ROCK.

In solidarity with the hunger-striking women and to support them in their demands WNC-defendants in various prisons started solidarity-hungerstrikes. Some groups added demands.

After 1 week the demands were partly honoured (the restrictions were lifted. From outside it became clear that it was not the best political move to use an unlimited H.S., because it's the last weapon you have. Some people were let free. The remaining women were brought to another jail. People started eating again, except for one man and one woman, they continued one week more,

#### THE TRIAL

After 6 weeks of tentative detention the trial against the 137 people, of which more than 70 were still detained, started. The court of Groningen had been reserved for more than one week only for this mass-trial. Surrounded by security measures, this piece of theatre was performed everyday against about 20 prisoners. The prisoners were transported in special busses with about 15 separate cells inside.

After a call over of names or in case unknown of the defendant's number the show started.

The prosecutor read the charge and demanded the same punishment for everyone: 9 months of imprisonment.

The lawyers were in the possibility to urge a defence, which



undermined the court's strategy

on all levels. To keep up their mask of independent judges, people were offered a 'last word' as a possibility to say their say. The lawyers achieved the release of some prisoners because there were no grounds for longer detention. To avoid inequality of law the judge then had to release (almost) everybody. Almost because for two prisoners an exception was made. They were marked as the so-called 'leaders' and they were dangerous because of possible repetition of the offence, when released.

Two weeks later the verdict was made public in the court in Groningen. To see and greet the two prisoners which still were inside 10 people decided to go in and say hello to them, while it was the only possibility to see them.

By a sick trick they managed to keep the two apart from the others. Which made everybody leave the court immediately. The sentence was heard by none of them. Some people got 4 weeks, most people 6 weeks and the last two 8 weeks imprisonment. An appeal to the higher court is coming up. We wanted to make clear we will not be able to obey their order based on exploitation and oppression. So a gentrification-project was occupied on a site where a former police office was squatted once. The trial, one of the biggest since the 2nd worldwar was among other a testcase for the large-scale attack of people who resist the ruling order. In the plan of the appointments made in European groups like TREVI (Terrorism, Radicalism, Extremism and Violence International) Holland has agreed to the eviction (or in some cases

legalisation) of squatted free places and 'potential sources of resistance'. It's clear that this goes along with an increase of arrestations, trials and (longer) detentions when you look at the treatment of the people of the WNC. What matters is that they're not (only) trying to punish people who don't obey the law, but rather scare people off who resist collectively and won't conform in their plans... This means in practice that we are confronted with the re-introduction of an old law (Paragr. 140, the belonging to a criminal organisation) and the extension of already existing laws (Paragr. 141, public violence). With the intention of keeping us behind bars for a longer period, to increase the pressure in order to finally isolate and defeat our struggle. We can however place ourselves in the confrontation, not as objects, but as subjects.

#### SOLIDARITY-ACTIONS IN SUPPORT WITH THE PRISONERS OF THE WNC.

- In the night from the 28th of mai the office of the HBG (sister-company of the owner of the WNC) was attacked with paintbombs and the locks were glued.
- On the 1st of June the casino was visited and partly set on fire, the press kept this out of the news.
- every day (during the first weeks) solidarity(noise)demonstrations were held in front of jails and police-stations, and kept on going (mostly twice a week) untill all were free...
- On the 8th of June a burning barricade was erected on one of A'dams most important streets.
- On the 9th of June one of the biggest cityformingprojekt in A'dam (in construction) was occupied for several hours.
- On the 28th of June a demonstration was held in solidarity with the prisoners of the WNC, and to protest against the growing repressive and intolerant climat in NL and the use of Art.140. It was a strong and lively demo, joined by at least 800 people walking through the city of Utrecht.
- On the 2th of June the windows of the courthouse in Assen were thrown in.
- The courthouse in Leeuwarden was totally painted with slogans in one night (of hard work).

At the 7th of June '90 a group of masked people constructed a burning barricade on one of the main roads in Amsterdam, in order to build a traffic-jam. In solidarity with the WNC-prisoners 137 paint-bombs were thrown on the city-hall, that same day.

#### ACTIONS OF SUPPORT IN OTHER COUNTRIES:

- U.S.A.- in New-York people went on the streets after finding out what happened and show'd support.
- In Minneapolis as well the support came right-away, a demonstration was held.
- In Managua, Nicaragua, the streets were told what was going on and that all prisoners had to be free'd.
- In Bielefeld (BRD) a demonstration coloured the streets and demands were pointed out.
- In Hamburg (FRG) a bank was spraypainted, and the Dutch consulate attacked with paint-bombs.

Our ideas and our actions, our lifes and struggles are an expression of a different life. Expressions of solidarity with struggling people around us are an important part of it, they give us the power to keep strong even in prison.

#### NN

Especially people from the radical left wing movement use the possibility, which is (still) offered by the Dutch juridical system, to deny their name, adress and date of birth in case of arrest. It makes it harder for the cops to track you down to serve your sentence (in case you get convicted) and it leaves them with a lot of extra work. Just recently the minister of justice prepared a new law, which enables the state to keep you detained twice as long, when you refuse to identify yourself. More measures connected to the rise of a monogtone Europe '92 will also result in basic changes on this field (like being obliged to carry around your ID-card, which at present is not the case in Holland).



# DOCUMENTATION

after a meeting of westgerman's federal bureau of investigation (BKA) on "basic strategies of counterinsurgency" in september, one of westgerman's liberal weeklies, "stern", and various dailies published inflammatory articles with pretended facts of a "new raf-offensive" and their "central-command" in hafenstrasse.

at 24.9.1990, raf responded with an open letter to this propaganda.

## RAF ABOUT THE ATTACK ON HAFENSTRASSE

aha, our plans for actions now are lying pretendedly in hafenstrasse, and more, we would have our 'central-command' there;

- the document-case which we took from braunmühl, we would have deposited by the way in kiefernstr.;
- at somebody like kiechle we would have planned an attack;
- plans for our actions would come from our comrades who are tortured in jail with isolation;

and so on, and so on.

the list of these lies from the security-forces of the state could be continued without end.

20 years of armed policy as well as the existence of self-determined living-spaces do not fit in the new great-german plans for world-power - all the less as after this long time it is simply clear, that here resistance has its cause in the social reality, that there are always again and always more people who one for all time want to with this system, in which money and power is all, and on the contrary people, their dignity and morality are nothing.

therefore they want to get rid of hafenstrasse. and because the senate of hamburg is not able to do this quick enough, the federal office of prosecution takes it in its hands and of course we shall stand the racket for the argument once again.

against this lie wie say: there were and there are no plans of us in hafenstrasse, nor 'legal' members of raf do existe - neither in hafenstrasse nor they do existe at all.

the raf is an armed fighting group, which acts out of illegality. so all who are fighting today in the raf are illegal, and this has never been different.. this fact is well known by the security-offices of state - even if they say about themselves that they do not know much about us, what is true.

they want to get rid of hafen, because it stands since years for the possibility here of pushing through self-determined living-spaces. but the attack against hafenstrasse shall also be presented as a "hit against the raf", because the pressure on the state-security-forces is growing on national and international level to show successes against us finally, after they have got none of us since the arrest of eva haule in 1986.

already the arrest of ute hladki and holger deilke, which was sold as "success of search" against us after our attack on herrhausen, was following this model, although the security-forces of state have known up from the beginning that both have not been in the raf.

and for clearing it up: ute hladki and holger deilke didn't check out nobody and nothing for us.

we do plan and carry out our actions from the beginning to the end by ourselves. the constructions of the state-security-forces, that we would have our "servants" for the "rubbishwork", shall for one reason support propagandistic the criminalization of people from the resistance, who are living legal. and these constructions shall suggest that here it is not going on different than inside the system itself, namely that there are bosses and subordinates who take orders. to suggest that the need of many that people live together free and self-determined, is nowhere - even not within revolutionary fight - to be realized.

now, in frame-work of the agitation against the hafen they cook up the wildest constructions. following them we shall sit in every kitchen.

there where we have really been, they keep back these facts if it is fitting in their political calculation. by the arrests of ex-militants in GDR, which were planned on long hand, once again the pretended final victory (endsieg) over us should be celebrated; therefore it fits of course not at all that we have had expropriated the whit-receipts of massa-store near duisburg some days before the arrest-wave in GDR (the whole proceeding of the expropriation was in a manner that the federal bureau of investigation -BKA- knew at once what was going on).

karl-heinz gerum and corinna kammermeier are not by us, because they don't want it and we don't want that too.

we have made our mind for a long time of we even talk about that in public, because it is not our turn to comment the search-lists of BKA.

we have decided ourselves to say something about one part of it, because we don't want that, caused by the wrong orientations which are pushed into the scene since a long time, comrades disappear into jail for years. the calculation is, by the exact public description of



the ostensible organization methods in connection with the raf-search against the both, to bring such methods as "ours" into the discussion.

but what is pretended there as possibilities of illegal organization DOES NOT WORK !

- to rent a house for oneself with wrong names (since the seventies there is the raster-search and because of this rolf heissler is imprisoned since more than 10 years)
- that "members of the anti-terror squads of BKA" are not able to find someone who is searched as a member of raf, although he is living by his parents for months.

these are only two of many examples. the level that the secret-services have reached today is much higher and the whole publications have the purpose to bring those to wrong criterions, who don't fit better yet and who are beginning to organize themselves in a way that the apparatus of the secret-services and cops shall not be able to recognize it. the people shall go on the long line of the verfassungsschutz (secret service for inner affairs, the translators) who collects the informations about them to strike the opportunity in a situation in which it is politically necessary.

AGAINST THE LEAP OF THE EUROPEAN BEAST  
OUR LEAP IN BUILDING UP REVOLUTIONARY POWER

the real relationships between the people who are organizing the revolutionary proces here have got nothing to do with the whole rubbish which is pretended by the lies of the state-security-forces. of course we have contacts with people from the most different connections, because we want and need the discussion with many. because all who want to carry on the revolutionary proces here have to understand exactly the situation and processes in the left-wing and in the resistance in general. and moreover it is a point for us to discuss with comrades who are involvied in other fights and whose ideas of theirs aims are covering with ours, about how we can reach more power and strength together.

red army fraction  
24.9.1990





## In The Spirit Of Crazy Horse

At the break of dawn on July 11, 1990, 500 heavily armed Quebec Provincial Police (QPP) declared war on Native peoples in Canada by attacking a road blockade erected by Mohawks at the Kanehsatake Reserve.

The barricades had been erected four months earlier to halt the town of Oka's plan to level a pine forest and desecrate a sacred burial ground located on stolen Native land for the expansion of a golf course. Because of a strategical error on the part of the police, armed Mohawk warriors were able to successfully defend their barricade and position and force the police to retreat. To this day, in the face of various counterinsurgency tactics, armed Mohawks have been able to hold their ground while being surrounded by over 1,000 provincial police.

This special news bulletin of ARM THE SPIRIT is devoted to the Natives' struggle in Oka. Most of the information contained herein will not be news to most people in Canada who have seen most of this information covered in the media. With this in mind we have prepared a chronology of events beginning with the initial attack for those who know very little about the current situation and for those whose only source of news has been the capitalist press, such as our comrades overseas and those in prison. This chronology is by no means an extensive summary of events surrounding the siege. This is especially the case with regards to support actions which have been taken from Native communiques and the capitalist press.

International support for the Mohawk Nation territories of Akwasasne, Kahnawake and Kanehsatake has been received from throughout Canada, the US and the world. Native people throughout Quebec, British Columbia, Ontario, California, Arizona and New Mexico have expressed their solidarity through statements and the establishment of blockades in their territories. Demonstrations, lobbying, protests and marches have been held throughout Canada and the U.S. by Native, black, African, leftist, religious etc. groups, organizations and communities.

Kanehsatake is by no means, a chance incident. Over the past few years, Native struggles across Canada have intensified and there has been an increasing trend of militant action. In the fall of 1988, the Lubicon Band in Alberta (a Canadian province) declared that they no longer recognized the jurisdiction of the Canadian government over their sovereign lands. The Lubicons then erected barricades on roads that entered onto their land and prepared to defend the barricades by force, if necessary. This was the result of years of constant frustration at getting nowhere with the Alberta government in settling their land claim dispute. While negotiations had dragged along for many years, multinational companies had continued their operations on Lubicon land. The result of this was the destruction of the surrounding environment which led to the decline in the wildlife that the Lubicon were dependant upon to help feed their communities. Over a short period of time the once self-sufficient Lubicon were forced to seek government assistance thereby placing the majority of the Lubicons on welfare. As a

result other problems began to arise such as an increase in alcoholism and suicide rates. One in three Lubicons suffer from tuberculosis compared to the national average of one in 150,000 Canadians.

The Lubicon situation is not an isolated one. There are countless land claim struggles being fought by Natives in Canada. The same corporate exploitation usually takes place on their tribal lands. In Temagami, the Teme-Anishihabe have fought against logging companies who want to cut down the last of the old growth forest in the region. The Innu in Nitassinan (Quebec/Labrador region of Canada) have blockaded runways of military jets that are carrying out low level flight testing across Innu land. These jets, as part of NATO training exercises, scare off caribou that are the staple diet of the Innu. Because of the noise and frequency of the flights the Innu themselves are also suffering ill effects. In the Northern Gitskan region of British Columbia (another Canadian province) Natives have set up road blockades to fight encroaching industrialization.

The most blatant example of corporate destruction of the environment and Native communities has been the James Bay 1 project in northern Quebec. This massive hydro-electric project, completed in the 1970's, was agreed to by the James Bay Cree when it was undertaken. The results though, for the Cree, have been disastrous. By diverting rivers, building dams, etc. to produce hydro-electric power there has been wide scale environmental damage. This has included the contaminating of fish and other wildlife, the flooding of lands which has disrupted native communities and driven off wildlife that they were subsistent upon. Now the Quebec government wants to begin James Bay 2, an even larger project that will flood an unprecedented amount of land. The implications of this are staggering for the Cree who quite obviously want none of this to take place.

The source of the problems facing Native peoples stem back to colonialism. Ever since European settlers landed on this continent, Native peoples have faced a constant attack. Throughout the last four cen-





## COMMUNIQUE

We have received an unconfirmed report from a very reliable source, that the RCMP is presently making plans to attack Kanesatake. They expect and are prepared to accept heavy casualties from both Native and non-Native peoples as well as their own personnel. They have, in the last day, began to recommend that residents of Oka evacuate their homes. There are well over 500 women, children and men in the encampment at Kanesatake. There are another 1,000 or more persons just outside of the encampment, but inside the S.Q. (Quebec police - ed.) barricades.

We did not fire upon people, the only violence has thus far come at the hands of the S.Q. We seek and want a peaceful resolution to this crisis. A bloodbath may be imminent. We call upon all peoples of the world, especially Canada, to demand that Brian Mulroney reign in the RCMP and prevent a needless massacre.

It is we who are peaceful and wish to negotiate on a nation-to-nation basis. Only the intervention of the world community can prevent hundreds, if not thousands, of casualties.

**DEMAND THIS MADNESS BE STOPPED BEFORE IT STARTS.**

Contact: Mohawk Nation  
Kahnawake - Tel: 514/68-4750  
Fax: 514/638-6790  
Kanehsatake - Tel: 514/479-8353

*continued from the front page*

"sovereign" status within Canada nor did it recognize Quebec as being a "distinct society". The Accord was an attempt to placate the Quebec government by recognizing this in the constitution. But when it came to Native peoples in Canada there was no mention of "distinct societies" or sovereignty. Because there was a deadline that was set for the signing of the Accord and as well the other 9 (predominantly English speaking) provinces had to give approval, there was an urgency on the part of the Canadian government to push it through. This was not to happen. The refusal of the Canadian government to recognize Native sovereignty prompted Elijah Harper, a Cree member of the Manitoba legislature, to use stalling tactics in provincial parliament to make sure that the Manitoba government could not give assent to the Accord on time. This played a major role in the failure of the Accord and was a defeat for the Quebec government who needed the Accord so that they would be able to carry out their political and economic designs unhindered.

Tensions between the various settler governments and the Mohawks had been on the increase in the past months. On the Mohawk territory of Genienkeh in upper state New York (just east of Akwesasne) there has been a confrontation with N.Y. state police when they attempted to come into the territory after gunshots from the Genienkeh land hit a Vermont National Guard helicopter forcing it into an emergency landing. The Mohawks refused to allow the cops to enter their territory to investigate the shooting, saying that they would undertake the investigation themselves. This turned into a stand-off when both sides threw up barricades.

It was fighting between Mohawks over disputed gambling casinos on the Akwesasne/St. Regis territory that saw various police and military forces from the U.S and Canada invade on May 1st of this year. The official justification for the massive armed intervention was to stop the violence between the two opposing sides that had left two men dead. What it has allowed, is an opportunity for governments on both sides of the border to exert more control over Native territories.

The failure of the Meech Lake Accord was a setback for the Quebec government and a victory for Native peoples. For the Mohawks it's the reason for the armed attack at Kanesatake by the Quebec police. Throughout the history of colonialism on this continent there has always been resistance by native peoples. The result for them has been near-genocide which is still being practiced by the various settler governments. The possibility of a violent assault by the Canadian

state is strong. Governments have never backed away from violently crushing militant resistance. One only has to remember the struggles of the Native peoples at Pine Ridge, South Dakota. The FBI and various state and private police forces waged a campaign of violence against Natives and in particular the American Indian Movement (AIM). AIM was a group that fought strongly for the right of sovereign Native nations and vigorously defended its people. Because of their militant resistance they became the target of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation which was a counterinsurgency program designed to crush militant groups and movements such as AIM and the Black Panther Party. The COINTELPRO operation was carried out a number of ways including; the spreading of disinformation, using armed gangs (the GOON's) who terrorized communities, agent provocateurs, frame-ups and assassinations. Between 1972 and 1976 over 70 AIM activists were murdered and countless others framed by the FBI. (To this day Leonard Peltier is still in prison for the murder of two FBI agents that he did not commit.) In 1973 the FBI turned Pine Ridge into a warzone when a siege took place for over two months between AIM activists and Natives and the FBI and other police forces.

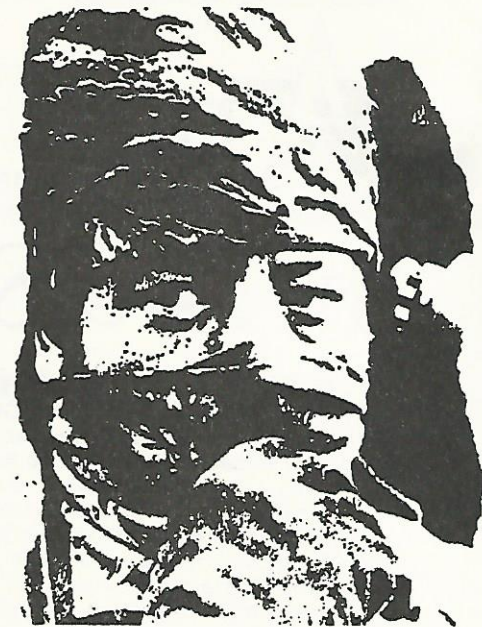
As we write this, the siege at Kanehsatake and the blockade at Kahnawake continues. The threat of an armed attack by the police or the military is very real. For us, support is vital and the building of international solidarity is extremely important. We urge all comrades to undertake any necessary actions to support the resistance of the Mohawks and their struggle for self-determination and land.

**SOLIDARITY IS A WEAPON!**



Arm The Spirit is an information collective focusing on militant and revolutionary struggles. Our perspective is autonomous but we see a need to discuss and analyse all forms of left resistance in order to contribute to a revolutionary process. We welcome and encourage others to join us in our work.

La Lucha Continual



## Defense Fund For Mohawk Sovereignty

In the wake of police attacks on the people of Kanehsatake, sovereign Mohawks territories need our assistance in the defense of their territory.

One of the things we can do is send material aid right away to help them buy supplies like food, medical supplies, fuel, etc. Even should the blockade be lifted, funds will still be needed to help rebuild and further the struggle for aboriginal title to the Kanehsatake lands. With this in mind, solidarity activists in Toronto have put together a defense fund with the goal of sending immediate assistance to the people there. Money that is collected is then relayed to the Mohawk people through activists from the Leonard Peltier Canadian Defense Committee.

Your immediate contribution is essential. A local collectively-run credit union has set up an account and funds to support the First Nations of Canada in their struggle for sovereignty in this emergency situation can be sent to:

**Defense Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty**  
c/o Bread & Roses Credit Union  
348 Dantorth Ave., Suite 211  
Toronto, Ontario, M4K 1N8  
Canada tel: (416) 461 7882

Subscriptions for this bulletin are \$8.00 for 10 issues. We will also be publishing a magazine that will expand upon what we cover in the bulletin. At this moment we have no subscription rate for it but we hope to publish it at least twice a year. The bulletin will come out at least 10 times a year on a near monthly basis. We are also in the process of setting up a small mailorder literature service. Please send \$1 for the mailorder list. We accept cash (conceal it well) or money orders but no cheques. If sending a money order please do not put 'Arm The Spirit' just leave it blank. We look forward to hearing from you.

Arm The Spirit  
Box 475, 253 College St.  
Toronto, Ont.  
M5T 1R5 CANADA



## WEDNESDAY, JULY 11

At approximately 6:00 am, after placing snipers in trees, QPP launch a massive assault against barricades erected by Mohawks in Kanesatake in defense of their land. The early morning offensive consists of using a large front-end earth loader backed up by automatic weapon fire, stun grenades and tear gas.

Police plan backfires when "mother nature" rises up off the lake and blows tear gas shot by QPP back into their areas of visibility forcing them to retreat. In the process, one police officer is killed by what is believed to be either his own bullet or that of a colleague.

Armed Mohawks successfully defend their position and use change of wind direction advantage to commandeer front end loader and reinforce their barricades with 6 abandoned police vehicles.

The police erect a barricade 200 metres away from the Mohawk one, threatening and harassing media taking pictures and filming the now exposed face of a racist and militarist state. Armed with automatic rifles and molotov cocktails, Mohawks settle in for what appears is going to be a long siege.

To support their brothers and sisters at Oka, Mohawks on the reserve of Kahnawake block and barricade the Mercier Bridge, an important commuter link in the settler town of Chateauguay. Both blockades receive widespread support by natives in Kahnawake and Kanehsatake. The Natives state that they will continue to occupy the bridge until the state withdraws its forces and that the bridge will be blown up if any Native is killed.

Elsewhere in Canada, statements of support are sent by other Native Bands such as the one received by Chief Bernard Ominayak of the Lubicon Nation in Alberta, which in part reads ... "The Lubicon Lake Indian Nation fully supports the heroic efforts of the Mohawks of Kanesatake to defend their lands against armed invasion. As is the case with Aboriginal Nations across the country, the Mohawks of Kanesatake have been given no choice but to exercise the internally-recognized right of self defense."

Jean Ouellette, the mayor of Oka who thought he would stand in victory over the bodies of Native people on this day, goes into hiding and is under police protection.

## THURSDAY, JULY 12

By sunrise, over 100 state storm troopers descend on the municipality of Oka and the surrounding area. Police seal off all access to the area to prevent food and medical supplies from getting to Mohawks behind their barricades. Water is turned off for over 12 hours. These actions infuriate native and non-native residents angered by the state's creation of a war zone in their town(s).

The atmosphere is tense as both police and fully-armed Mohawks await the other side to make a move. In spite of this, the first negotiations between the state and Mohawks occur, albeit to no avail.

The news of yesterday's attack reaches the Canadian public via the front page of every daily paper gaining sympathy and sentiments of support for the Mohawks by a majority of Canadian citizens.

The Chief of the Assembly of First Nations says that natives "are prepared to take direct action, including cutting down power lines and destroying bridges". Other statements of support by Native nations are sent. In addition, one of many defense funds throughout Canada is established in Toronto. (See elsewhere in this bulletin to see how one can contribute.)

## FRIDAY, JULY 13

The stalemate continues as do negotiations between the province and Natives, again to no avail. The police counterinsurgency tactic of blocking food and medical supplies is denounced by the Canadian Human Rights Commission. In an effort to counterstate tactics, the Band council of the Kanesatake reserve set up a foodbank calling for outside donations.

To almost confirm everyone's suspicion that the police are responsible for the death of one of their fellow slime, police refuse to release information that would help to determine who is responsible for the fatal shooting.

## SATURDAY, JULY 14

After six hours of negotiations between provincial Indian Affairs Minister John Ciaccia and the Mohawks, a tentative deal is struck: significantly reduce police presence and the blockade on the Mercier Bridge will end.

A solidarity demonstration takes place here in Toronto as protestors of a racist exhibit at the Royal Ontario Museum join with natives in an illegal march downtown, blocking traffic at major intersections.

A demonstration by residents of Chateauguay against the blocking of the Mercier Bridge takes on racist overtones and demonstrators storm police barricades in an attempt to attack the Mohawks barricade.

The Oneida Nation Council of Chiefs send a letter to Federal Minister of Indian Affairs stating that "the Council supports the Mohawks of Kanehsatake in their right to exercise their unrelinquished jurisdiction over their land and their just right to protect the land."

## SUNDAY, JULY 15

Contradictory to the agreement reached on Saturday, the police show no signs of reducing their massive presence and the deal collapses.

The Penticton Indian Band in British Columbia issues a press release committing themselves to direct action by establishing a series of road blockades to demonstrate their solidarity and support for the Kanesatake people of the Mohawks Nation in Oka, Quebec.

Police are still not allowing food across barricades although it is being smuggled in clandestinely. The Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples starts a foodbank to gather supplies for the Mohawks in Oka. Poor weather conditions causes the Festival for Survivors of Assault in Toronto to be cancelled. Organizers of the event head to Oka with two vanloads of food which was to feed Festival participants.

## MONDAY, JULY 16

RCMP are moved in to assist the Quebec Provincial Police.

Quebec Provincial Police surrounding Kanehsatake force Mohawk negotiators to wait four hours which is considered an extreme personal affront that can bring dire misfortune to the desecrators and their families.

Doctors, medicine and food are not being allowed into Kanehsatake. Residents requiring treatment are dealing with increasing hardships as they face lengthy hassles by police when they leave for urgent medical help and upon their return. The Red Cross is now allowed to bring in food and supplies and some food continues to be smuggled in clandestinely as well.

Some residents of Chateauguay attempt to join together and send food to Kahnawake amidst threats from other citizens to smash store windows, etc.

## TUESDAY, JULY 17

At 6:00 am police allow emergency personnel behind barricades to a man injured in a construction accident on July 10. Up until this date access of emergency personnel had been denied by police as part of their attack on the Oka people. Access was only allowed when the man's condition had reached dangerous levels.

Canadian armed forces send a contingency force to Lange Pointe military base in Montreal where armed personnel carriers, anti-tank weapons and military trucks are on standby for what is believed to be preparation for a possible large-scale attack on the Mercier Bridge or Oka barricades.

Some Chateauguay residents, who apparently see the bridge blockade as too much of an imposition and the struggle of native Indians as subordinate to their convenience attack police barricades at the base of the bridge. In a blatant display of racism effigies of Mohawks are burned and a Black man passing by is attacked. Rather than defend the man from his assailants, the police brutally attack and arrest him.

In Ottawa over 400 march in support of Mohawks.

Mohawks at Akwesasne in Quebec send a message of solidarity stating that the tribe will "do everything in its power to protect the people of the Mohawks Nation".

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 18

Mohawks blockading the Mercier Bridge reinforce their barricades using cars, dirt and debris. At the base of the bridge police confront Chateauguay residents angered by the bridge's closing.

In British Columbia, Solicitor General Russ Fraser threatens to send in RCMP to dismantle a solidarity blockade erected earlier in the week by natives.

75 residents of the Rousseau River Reserve in southern Manitoba demonstrate their solidarity by erecting a blockade on a provincial highway.

Native Chiefs from across Canada begin to gather in Kahnawake for an open summit of First Nation Leaders.

The American Indian Movement and the American Indian Support Committee issue their solidarity with the Mohawks.

Angry demonstrators gather in Queen's Park, Toronto to condemn





the Canadian government for its inaction in dealing with the Mohawk demands. Subsequent to the demonstration, activists begin to organize bus rides to Oka for a Justice Watch which they hope will curtail police violence against Mohawks.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 19

The Federal government states it will refuse to negotiate further until the Mohawks put down their arms. Mohawks flatly refuse the government's demand, stating that the barricades will remain erect until the state deals with their claims.

People gather in front of the Ministry of Indian Affairs building in Toronto to show support for Mohawks and to protest the federal government's refusal to deal with

#### FRIDAY, JULY 20

Native chiefs head back home after adopting a nine-point resolution as follows:

- 1) All police be withdrawn from Kahnawake and Kanésatake and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney reconvene parliament immediately to deal with the national crisis.
- 2) The federal and Quebec governments guarantee immunity from prosecution for all Mohawk actions during the events at both locations.
- 3) The United Nations appoint an international commission to investigate the abuses and violations of civil, political and constitutional rights of the Kanésatake and Kahnawake Mohawks.
- 4) The world community condemn the government of Canada for its neglect of native people.
- 5) Other countries impose economic sanctions against Canada until the conflict is settled.

The Chiefs also:

- reaffirmed the inherent right of native people to self-determination and jurisdiction over their land;
- voiced support for the Mohawks in their effort to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the current dispute;
- demanded that Mulroney personally enter the talks;
- promised to take "appropriate and reasonable actions" of an unspecified nature in support of the Mohawks in the current dispute.

Demonstrations continue in Chateauguay as 700 people block traffic in their own town. The burning of Mohawk effigies continues and riot cops are again called in.

A 24-hour vigil is held in Toronto with local supporters.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 21

The police highjack talks between the province and natives by refusing to allow six key negotiators behind the barricades.

As another protest takes place in Chateauguay, Mohawks on the Mercier Bridge ignite a row of tires creating a wall of fire four lanes wide.

Food supplies are now running dangerously low.

#### SUNDAY, JULY 22

As food supplies continue to deplete, the police refuse to allow the Red Cross behind barricades with supplies.

Across Canada solidarity is widespread:  
-150 people demonstrate in downtown Toronto  
-another small demonstration takes place in suburban Toronto  
-over 1000 people demonstrate in Winnipeg, Manitoba  
-over 150 people demonstrate in Oka  
-over 200 Micmacs march and block traffic in Nova Scotia

-2 native prisoners at the at the Headingley Institution in Winnipeg begin a solidarity hungerstrike  
-over 70 people demonstrate in Edmonton, Alberta.

#### MONDAY, JULY 23

The Red Cross is finally let in with food supplies.

A statement released by Six Nations states that individual brought food in last Thursday and found people who had not eaten for days.

In a blatant attempt to discredit Mohawk people, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, Harry Swain, makes statements describing the Warrior Society as a criminal organization acting against the will of the Mohawk people.

The Quebec Government continues to refuse to negotiate behind Mohawk barricades or with Mohawks from Akwasasne. A Mohawk spokesperson responds that it is a Mohawk issue and it's irrelevant where the Mohawks come from.

As the Mohawk Nation is not a member of the United Nations, an earlier request to send in UN peacekeepers is denied.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 24

The Quebec Human Rights Commission states that Quebec Provincial Police are ignoring the province's charter of rights as investigators who visit the reserve hear stories of harassment and mistreatment by police and physical abuse of illegally-detained people. As well, individuals who look like Mohawks receive much harsher treatment at the barricades.

Although the Red Cross is allowed to bring in food, bureaucratic delays are lengthy and those behind the barricades are relying heavily on supplies smuggled in clandestinely. The possibility of another police attack becomes very real when Natives learn from sources that it is being discussed by the government (see communiqué).

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 25

The Mohawk Nation receives an anonymous fax message which purports to be a statement from the Algonquin Indian Association (a non-existent group) condemning the actions of the Mohawks of Kanésatake and Kahnawake in their land claim struggle. The statement is later revealed to be a deliberate attempt by the Canadian government to discredit and disrupt Native nation relations. An investigation reveals that the origin of the fax is from the government's Department of Indian Affairs.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 26

The Grand Chief of the Algonquin Council of Western Quebec (a legitimate group) sends a letter of support to the Mohawk people in which states that they "...support the endeavors of the Mohawk Nation in this present struggle in the name of us all."

#### FRIDAY, JULY 27

The government, in an obvious attempt to disarm the Mohawks, declares that it will reduce the police presence and acquire the disputed land for the natives "enjoyment and benefit" on the condition that the Mohawks turn in all their weapons and dismantle the barricades.

Across Canada, solidarity actions by Natives continue:

On Vancouver Island, natives at Campbell river announce they will begin to block commercial vehicles and tourists on the island highway. The blockade is to be erected in support of the Mohawks and to demonstrate their anger after a driver rammed into signs at an information picket they had organized.

In a solidarity action, several Native bands in Manitoba blockade a 4 lane highway. This effectively cuts access to a concentrated strip of beaches and campground sites.

At Brokenhead Reserve, north of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Natives blockade a highway in support of the Mohawks.

300 Natives march through downtown Halifax in a demonstration of solidarity.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 28

The Mohawks announce that they won't consider the government proposal, made on Friday, to disarm and dismantle the barricades.

In New Brunswick, Micmacs blockade a highway that runs through their reserve. They state that the blockades, originally erected in solidarity with the Mohawks, will not be dismantled until their land claims and other aboriginal rights issues are resolved. The blockade is constructed of overturned vehicles and logs and it cuts off access to the area's most popular beach.

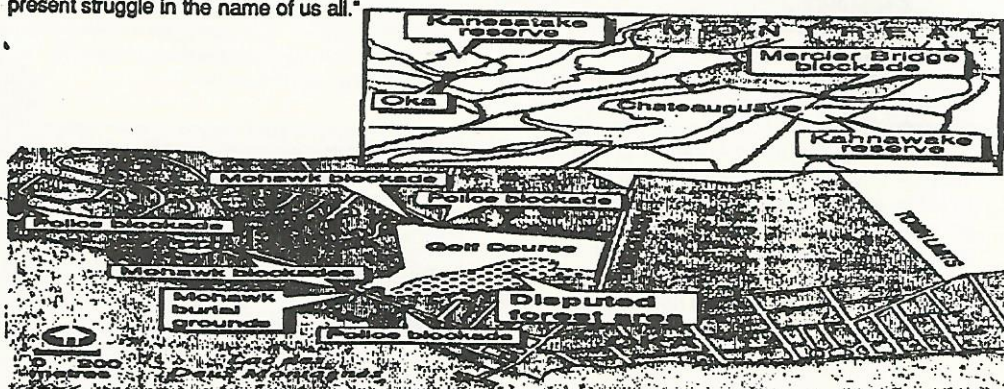
#### SUNDAY, JULY 29

A demonstration organized by the Assembly Of First Nations draws over 2500 people to Oka to show their solidarity. Police harassment of Natives and non-Native supporters continues.

In Saskatchewan, Natives (Metis) blockade the entrance to Batoche National Historical Park (Batoche was the site of a battle between the Metis and Canadian troops in the 19th century when the Metis went to war against Canada during the Metis Rebellion) in solidarity with the Mohawks and to fight for their own land claim struggle and for self-determination.

Members of the Caldwell First Nation band arrive in Point Pelee after a 6 day walk (114 miles) from London, Ontario. They organized the walk to help raise money for a Chippewa land claim and to show support for the Mohawks.

As we send this out, the standoff between the Mohawk Nation and the police continues.....





16th August

On 16th August the Mohawk nation stated in a statement that during the previous night, a patrol of 4 to 6 men dressed in military camouflage clothes had almost caused a weaponed conflict. It is assumed that they were from the army. The incident is reported to the human-rights observers and a formal complaint is made. The military threats, flying over with an armed helicopter and observation air-craft, are causing a fast spreading fear. The statement also repeats that it has never been the intention of the government to start meaningful negotiations with the Mohawk nation.

29 August

Jet-fighters, tanks, 3500 soldiers and a warship appeared on this day, in what eventually turned out to be a kind of theatrical practice, but which constantly radiated a threat of violence. If the warriors at the Mercier bridge had panicked then they would have been shot to pieces, by the mass of weapons surrounding them.

Meanwhile the protests from a part of the white population against the barricading of the bridge, continue. They are being encouraged by Klu Klux Klan members who are openly organising attacks on the bridge. People with an Indian appearance and black people living in the area are attacked. On the 11, 12 & 13 August, white youths armed with baseball bats attacked the police lines separating them from the Mohawk barricades. These demonstrators call for a hard intervention from the army. Politicians at local, provincial and national levels support this. The army is totally prepared and waiting for the orders.

The journalists present are told that the jet-fighters were armed with phosphorus bombs. But the members of the Mohawk Warriors Society, including women warriors, held their word, and waited for the army to fire the first shots. They eventually cleared up the barricades together with the army. At the same time the criminalisation programme reached it's top point. On the one hand there is a lot of talk about agreements, on the other, the government lays all blame on the Mohawk Warriors Society. Premier Mulroney claims that they have held women and children hostage. In fact, 500 people left the bridge 2 days before the army

The armed confrontation has in any case brought a new unity to the Indian movement. An attack on the Mohawks will most probably unleash a campaign against vulnerable objects such as power-stations and oil pipe-lines. A long war is then one of the possibilities.

There is solidarity and support for the Mohawks all over Canada and the US, also from non-Indians. An opinion survey in Canada actually aims the proportion of pro-Indians at 70%. The Mohawks themselves are also convinced that the majority of the near-by villages disapprove of the racist conduct of the so-called demonstrators. The Mohawks also report that some off-duty and ex-cops have been identified amongst the 'demonstrators', especially with the more violent racist activists.

attack. There is absolutely no evidence of any holding of hostages! The army has now taken up positions encircling the blockade at Kanesatake. The message is clear: if the Mohawks stand their ground, a second Wounded Knee will be the result.



Last News dated 16 September

2 September

It has happened. The Canadian army has occupied the Mohawk Indians' land! Just as before in the Indians' history, traitors have been used, this time to ask the army to step in because brawls had broken out in Kanesatake. This can be compared to some people inviting the army of a neighbouring country to intervene by rioting.

All news-reports choose to simply ignore the fact that the Mohawk nation, that belongs to the Iroquois Federation, is an independent nation and not subordinate to any country.

Cops and soldiers are mishandling Mohawks, arrested for defending their brothers and sisters. They have been badly beaten, burnt with cigarettes and kicked in the face. Then they were locked up until the wounds and swellings had healed a little, so that they were not so clearly visible. Only then were they released.

On 13 September the Canadian army lines of communication from & to Kanesatake.

A group of men, women and children who refuse to give up, have retreated to a drugs-and alcoholic clinic.

The state wants to isolate this, the last Mohawk position. The cops are trying to stop Mohawk supporters on their way to join the "Peace Camp" in Oka. Already thousands of Indians and non-Indians are camped there in a park.

The governments of Canada and Quebec have responded to every peace proposal from the Mohawk nation, by spitting in the face of our People. Our People was prepared to search for ways that led to a solution. We offered the one compromise after the other.

While we were being asked to negotiate, secret talks were being held with Mohawks who have no mandate from the People, as our laws proscribe.

The government has used these people for their false goals.

Just this morning an army spokesman assured us that there would be no violent actions. His words had barely left his mouth when the army moved against our People. At this moment our people are locked up in a small space behind steel-wire, as though they were animals.

Canada, Quebec and their armies have no sense of honour, Canada is the South Africa of 1990.

"We will try no more - if it is to be war, then let it be!!

3 September

Women, children and negotiators have retreated to 2 buildings. They are surrounded by the army that has set an ultimatum. If we do not surrender before 8.00pm, they will begin the attack.

We ask everyone to help us to prevent a blood-bath.



The Quebec police have blocked the roads there as well and are behaving aggressively when people leave the camp.

An Indian woman once told a US-president...

"When you've felled the last tree  
when you've killed the last fish, and  
when you've poisoned the last river  
only then will you understand that  
you can't eat all that gold  
you've hoarded in the bank."



# THE PHANTOM OF THE OPERA

KRIEG DEN

PALESTIN - FRIEDE DEN HÜTTEN !

EAT THE RICH !!

Well, in spite of it all it is playing any-ways: the Phantom of the Opera.

As expected the day of protest and action, June 29th, couldn't change this. We wish to outline here once again the course of events from the premiere date. It was really great to see that many of residents had turned out in the street on the premiere date and that they had hung banners out of their apartments. That gave us a lot of encouragement and the feeling that we were not standing there alone. Of course the senate of Hamburg tried to stifle every form of protest against the "Phantom" with the help of the courts with help of the courts with a prohibition to assemble for entire city. Many of us could not believe their eyes, when we saw that it was possible to gather in front of the "Opera". Countless numbers of people had also assembled behind the police barricades, in order to express their annoyance and loathing at this colossus. That alone is a success! The atmosphere changed from first unsure into powerful. Even a protest banner in front of the "Opera" was tolerated by the numerous police. Hadn't they noticed that we didn't fit into their prejudice as "violent trouble maker"?

"During the course of the evening the group of militant autonomes gathering together with young and old residence from the neighbourhood. Nobody had counted on that." (Hamburger Morgenpost, 30.6.90) This above all prevented the police from clubbing wildly into the crowd as they so often do.

Later on the police use the water cannons against us without warning. Most fled into the Holstenstrasse, while others were hunted into the Suttnerstrasse by special "arrest troops". Their intention was to intimidate us with wildly spraying water cannons, and if they had had their way they would have preferred to see us vanish into thin air. A certain humor remained however, in spite of a few brutal arrests and the water cannon attacks, in the "parade" of police vehicles (water cannons, helicopters, armoured vehicles, jeeps...). The most of us were not intimidated by this presence.

The premiere guests, arriving in their "finest", were greeted by hail of well aimed eggs, paint filled balloons, and rotten vegetables. They were sworn at, spit on and stained. If we're not mistaken,

There were hardly a premiere guest that could avoid the anger of the "Phantom's" opponents. What a success!

Also after the premiere had already begun most of us had no intention of going home. We were keeping to the streets. Musicians came and added their share to a certain air of being not a public festival. Although the premiere guests in the meanwhile were able to applaud in the security of the Opera's walls, the police tried to chase us off of the streets with water cannons and attacks of bludgeoning cops. Thanks to the open entrances of the houses and stores, many of us were able to find shelter from the increasing police and arbitrary arrests.

The situation in the Holstenstrasse (close to the "Opera") began now to escalate, and developed into an all-out street fight, in which among other things, burning barricades were erected. The reason why a small car happened to be set on fire remains a mystery to us. Sometimes however in escalated situations such as these actions happen which we disagree with. The burning of this car was purposeless, and affects the wrong people. Our protests and actions are not meant to work against "small" business and automobiles from local residents.

The press has fit everything possible into their headlines in an attempt to discredit the entirely justified resistance to the "Phantom".

With wellaimed lies in the newspapers (pregnant women kicked in stomachs, Bild) tried to turn attention away from our protest against the "Phantom", and to brand the protesters as "inhumans". In this manner many of those who were described as "violent troublemakers". Friends, of course, were there from other neighbourhoods and cities to support us in protest. People who are without question affected by the gentrification and restructuring plans of those in power, and therefore were there in solidarity with us, which greatly pleases us!

IS IT ALL REALLY SUCH A SUPRISE?

The senate with its "crowbar" politics built the "Phantom" against the will of those living here, giving them no choice but to protest! The senate's been snatching up more and more projects here in North-Altona and the older part of the city.

Isn't it a hammer when Voscherau (mayor) says that he can't imagine what could be the people's complaint here, after all there's no problem finding a parking-

25



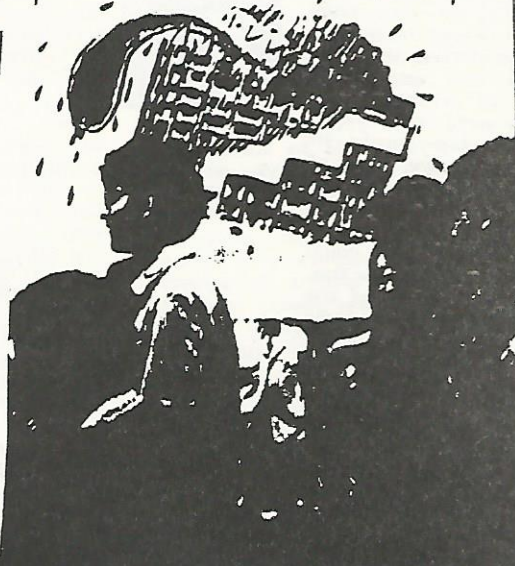
strasse 92/98. Und ist es nicht der blanke hohn, wenn Vorscherau (bürgermeister place here, and the traffic connections are great? The senate tried to find a scapegoat as soon as possible to blame for their premiere flop, in this case the police, in order to divert attention from the true reason, i.e. their lacking of good local neighbourhood oriented politics. When we think back, there hasn't been one politician who spoke out in defense of the residence or against "Phantom". Neither CDU, FDP nor SPD (CDU-Christ Democratic Party, FDP -Liberal Party, SPD -Social Democrats Party). The Green Party also gave nothing but lip service to the matter, exemplified by their token "Phantom" opponent Olaf Wuttke. It is no wonder that pent up anger against such a symbolic project like the "Phantom" came out like it did.

FIRST THE CONCRETE MIXERS? AND NOW THE BLOCKHEADS:

The premiere is over, but what is this "culture" in our daily life now going to look like? A permant police presence, squadrons of theaterguests in their gala uniforms, zooming around looking for a parking place in their luxury coaches? Are their people really going to stream into a "musical" for the next seven years, that even musical critics have said is done in a "fast food" style? It is all just "artificially created kitsch, packed into a cold musical pomp, presented in a high-tech theater with a convention center whose culture existance is at least to be insured as an auction hall for livestock." (Hamburger Abendblatt) We are sick of Fritz kurz's (musical owner) tasteless idea of homogeneous culture.

SENATE'S POLITICS AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE POPULATION

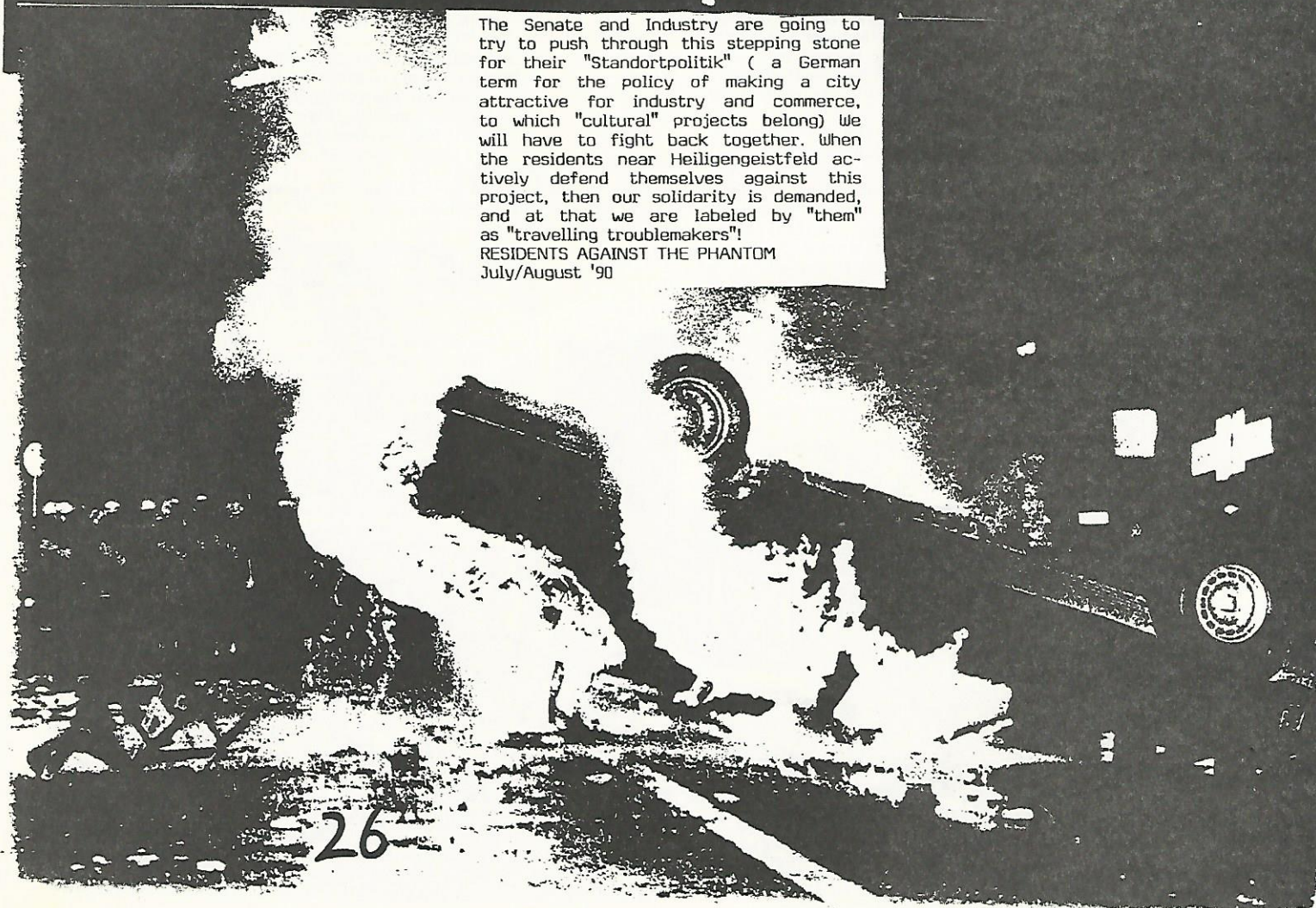
EAT THE RICH



The Senate's pusuing a policy in the interests of trade and industry. Our quarter is to be changed and mutated into something resembling their ideas. The "typical inner-city" residents with little income and the respective buying power are to be pushed out onto the outskirts of the city. The next colossal project is the multi-purpose colosseum planned to be erected on the Heiligengeistfeld\*St. pauli. (area of Hamburg). Although it is clear to those in power that this project will be meet with the resistance of the residents, and there is already an inititive that had formed against this concrete Superbowl.



The Senate and Industry are going to try to push through this stepping stone for their "Standortpolitik" ( a German term for the policy of making a city attractive for industry and commerce, to which "cultural" projects belong) We will have to fight back together. When the residents near Heiligengeistfeld actively defend themselves against this project, then our solidarity is demanded, and at that we are labeled by "them" as "travelling troublemakers"! RESIDENTS AGAINST THE PHANTOM July/August '90





# CITYHALL-DEMON-

## BIELEFELD

on the 10th of august 1990 a new city-hall was inaugurated in Bielefeld. this inauguration was prepared weeks before with a big media campaign in the local press. "as many persons in Bielefeld as possible should identify themselves with the city-hall"; "Bielefeld, futural congress-city between Bonn and Berlin"; "Bielefeld, one of the prospering cities in te RFA"; the city-hall was titled a "ship of amusement". since 1988, when they started building the hall, they spent 300.000 dm only for the advertising campaign.

with this campaign the chief of the city-hall, the planners and the greatneses of the regional parties and business firms tried first of all to gain an acceptance towards the hall in the popularity. they allure with big rock-concerts, theater and ballet performances of big style, tv-entertainment shows - all that to make the people in this city believe: we built this hall only for you! but we know the pigs too well for to see clearly, that they would not spend 70 millions (the costs for the city-hall) only to present a few performances to the citizens. the sort of plastic culture, that will be offered more and more now also in this city, is intended to attract persons with more money from the region and also from other cities; it is intended to enrich the hotel and the gastronomic business and so on. during the last years the city of Bielefeld has changed into a glittering mile of consumption; the old part of the city has become a promenade for yuppies and bigwigs. only the rich have money to buy anything in the passageways of glass and in the noble-boutiques.

this is meant to be the convey-

nient atmosphere for the futural young employers and the investigation-greatneses of the RFA and from abroad, who are intended to be drawn also into this city to build up new industrial plants and technology projects here. they want to change Bielefeld into a shining star on the european sky, too! not unrealistic, because the provences and smaller cities have a special "charm" for the great pigs of bank and economy business: here there are still untitled areas they intend to pave with their technology and research centres, industrial plants, luxury hotels, highways and streets. here they expect a "favourable climate for investigations", which means low wages, less resistance against their projects as in big cities like for example Hamburg (remember the actioins against the ICC meeting and the opening of the phantom opera). and: this is meant to be an area where the bigwigs can recover from their dirty business.

the new city hall is first of all a congress-hall. it has 3.000 seats for a congress in one room and also several big and small meeting rooms, thereby much space for real big conferences. for the end of this year they have planned for instance a Land party rally of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).

in this city it is the multinational enterprises like Gildemeister, Schuko, Granini and the Oetker-imperium who gain even more profit from projects like the city-hall and the newstructuring of a whole city and its surroundings (cityforming). and they push it forward actively. for example: the tract of land where the new city-hall is standing now belonged to Gildemeister before. for resettling out of the city into

## STRATION

the country they swept in a sum of compensation of more than 70 millions dm. by this "opportunity" they reduced more than 1000 places of employment.

Gildemeister is an armament combine. under the cover of producing "tool machines" they delivered for example material apt for arms to the Israelian combine Seltam. Seltam produce mortars and canons. in the beginning of the 80es Gildemeister delivered not only machines and machine components to them but also projectile tops, whole projectiles, parts of fuse and flight stabilisators.

Gildemeister Projecta, a subsidiary company of Gildemeister, installed a project of 400 millions dm named "SA-AD-16" in Irak nearby the city of Monsul. in this plant they work on techniques for rockets and experimentwith chemicals. this plant is provably fit to be producing poison-gas. last year the Irakian armee murdered more than 10.000 people in the Kurdish city Halabja by employing poison-gas.

for us it is too obvious, who is responsible for the massacre on the Kurdish people and for the war and oppression against our palestinian comrades fighting for their liberation!!

for us these examples make even more clear how much the capitalist strategy here and in other continents is connected with each other. here we are confronted with the pulling down of our quarters, the destruction of long-grown living structures, cutting down of the forests, concreting of the ground, expulsion of people, the principle of isolation in the whole society: everything is adjusted to the interests of capitalism. the city hall is a project rendered and used by the multinational combines. rendered





by profits of war and of the  
sale of armament for mass-  
extermination.

during the last few years  
there was not much - respecti-  
vely not continuous - resis-  
tance against the daily destru-  
ction of life and living space  
here in this city. for instance  
we have no houses  
here, there is hardly no move-  
ment against the newstructu-  
ring of the city or against  
the planned projects (a gigantic  
established and city police sta-  
sports-hall, a high technology-  
centre, a big new industry plant  
of Daimler Benz in a woodland,  
a new Land-law court etc.).

so the mobilisation against  
the opening of the new city-  
hall on the 10th of august  
was characterized by no orga-  
nization and hardly by a politi-  
cal discussion in the politi-  
groups. calling to a common  
pamphlet there was a disturb  
the opening-festivities with  
all means, 2000 guests had  
been invited to a big dinner  
with salmon, to a big dinner  
all that.

first there was a demonstration  
with about 2000 people  
in front of the city-hall  
and the in the naboured streets.  
the entrance of the police hall,  
the walls of the hall, and  
the evening-guests in their  
smart arriving at the police  
bottles, at the colour were  
a lane around police formed  
then the attack on started their  
strants more people followed  
a few clubs. we ended with a  
and injured people and 9 per-  
sons arrested, but also in  
the rows of the police there  
were injuries.

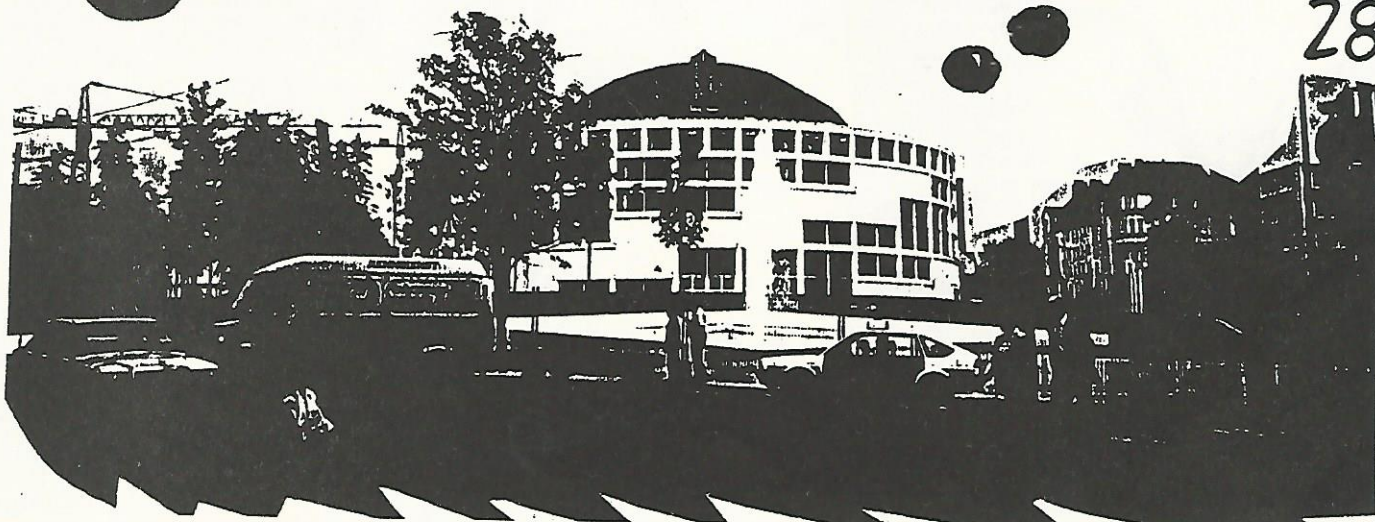
in the evening and night seven-  
ral small groups operated

addenda: one week later one  
of the demonstrators was arres-  
ted from the street, the police  
say they identified him by  
videoclips of the city-hall  
demo. mask of the city-hall  
as possible!

for us it was a good experi-  
ence. the day has shown that  
there are more people on our  
side than we expected.

EAT THE RICH!  
ATAKA A LOS RICOS!

Bielefeld, September 1990







Holsteiner Kurier (local newspaper)  
24-8-90

MASKED ATTACKERS ESCAPED - SMELL OF ROTTEN EGGS  
ATTACK ON SHELL

neumunster- Lats afternoon an acid attack was committed on german shell's exhibition in "Stadthalle"(local congress center). Masked attackers escaped. At 1.30 p.m. they entered the center by main entrance and smashed two bottles of a stinking fluid, believed as butteracid by firebrigade officers, on the floor. Passing the back entrance they left. They run away into direction of "Hertie" a ware-

house. A complete firebrigade turned up. They took 45 minutes to abolish the damage using binding agent. But the smell still lasted for several hours, suffered by visitors of the exhibition. "After the break it was continued without further disturbances." told us chief organiser Mr. Schroeder of Shell. The petrol-trust is arranging an exhibition for lessees of petrol-stations on new marketing strategies for "Shell-shops"

#### Dokumentation

#### ATTACK ON SHELL EXHIBITION

in Neumunster, west-germany  
SHELL TO HELL!

One of the worlds most powerful multinationals, Shell is responsible for starvation, murder, exploitation, oppression, environmental destruction all over the world.

On 22nd to 23rd of august 1990 German Shell's yearly autumnal exhibition took place in new-munster's stadthalle (local congress center). Visitors were carried partly by buses and helicopters from all over Germany.

Unfortunately we heard about it only on 22nd of august. Though access was granted only to invited visitors and the security staff didn't look very friendly we visitid it briefly on 23rd of august.

We threw in bottles filled with butteracid to disturb the arrangement of the exhibition. The exhibition had to be interrupted for hours. It was sent for fire-brigade and cops.

We attacked the exhibition because we are fed up with humans'butchers, easily able to walk around without harm. we don't want to close our eyes and feel anymore. As long as we accept them the murders are among us.

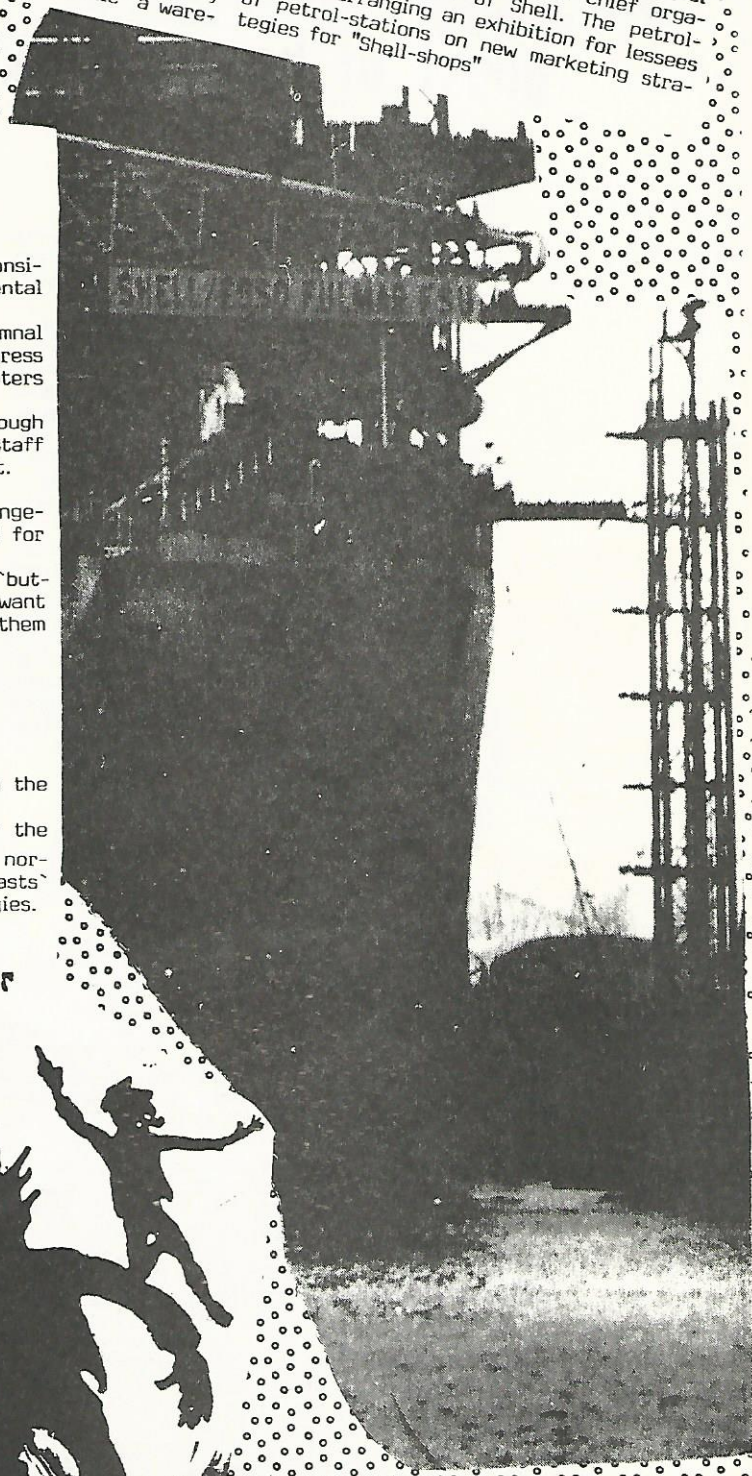
Without us!

Up with international solidarity!!

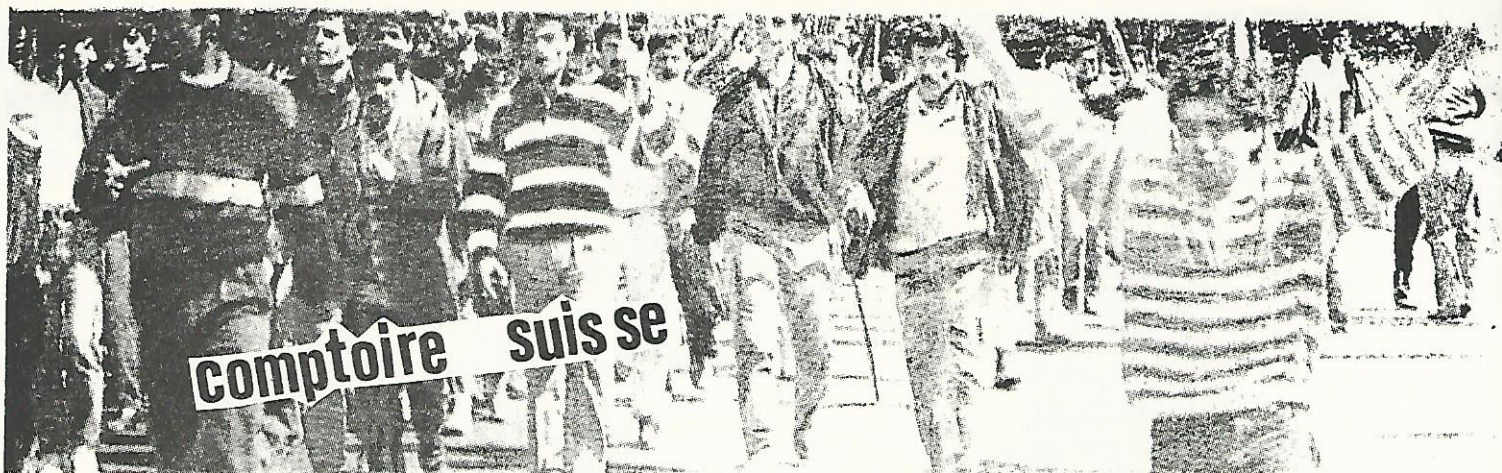
p.s. in addition we hope that the smell will last longer than the exhibition in stadthalle.

Built as part of yuppification of (down-town) new-munster the 60-Million-DM building is to provide rooms to capitalists of northern west-germany bundesland Schleswig-Holstein for 'feasts' and to plan their newest and exploiting and oppressing strategies.

Without Us.







## guest of honour turkey

Swiss - Turkish Relations

### A Foot in the Middle East

It is 10 years since General Evren and his military cronies forced their way to power in Turkey. The coup of 12 September 1980 brought the truly mass-movements, that had formed throughout the 70s and called for social justice, higher wages, better working and living conditions, autonomy and independence for the separate peoples in Turkey, to a brutal end. These mass-movements stood opposite the economic and military interests of the USA and Europe, who applied the necessary pressure through the IMF and NATO, and finally encouraged the coup of 12.9.1980. Oezal, till then an employee of the World Bank, was ordered to take the whip in the hand.... A drastic "stabilisation" of the situation in Turkey was a condition for getting IMF-credit. This would guarantee Turkey's role as gateway to the Middle East for the imperialist powers. The NATO forces stationed in Turkey had already planned to intervene if the 1980 coup did not succeed.

### A free Super-Market

The Turkish power-mongers have directed themselves towards a neo-liberal economic policy since 1980, and repeatedly applied for the admittance of their state as the 13th member of the EEC. Without success till now. They have made some farcical concessions to show their ability and will to adapt to the western concept of democracy, for example the election of the puppet cabinet in November 1987. Concessions that are much closer to a ink than any serious attempt to democratize the power structures. That the situation in Turkey has actually worsened since 1980, despite the essentially increased investment from the imperialist countries, is undeniable. The so-called foreign debt has doubled in these 10 years, and led to the present inflation rate reaching 100%, the wages dropping 60% and 30% unemployment, which leaves people to survive without any income at all. In response to demands for minimal constitutional rights, such as freedom of organisation, the Press and political opinion, the repression has only become sharper. The Turkish prisons and high-security wings are over-

muß.

filled with political prisoners. A relentless war is especially being waged against the Kurdish people. The identities of the different peoples in Turkey are ignored.

The resistance of the Turkish and Kurdish people against their miserable conditions continues, despite the extensive forces trying to crush them. Work-struggles, strikes, mass-demonstrations and armed-struggle, especially in Kurdistan, are clear evidence of this.

### Money and Hypocrisy

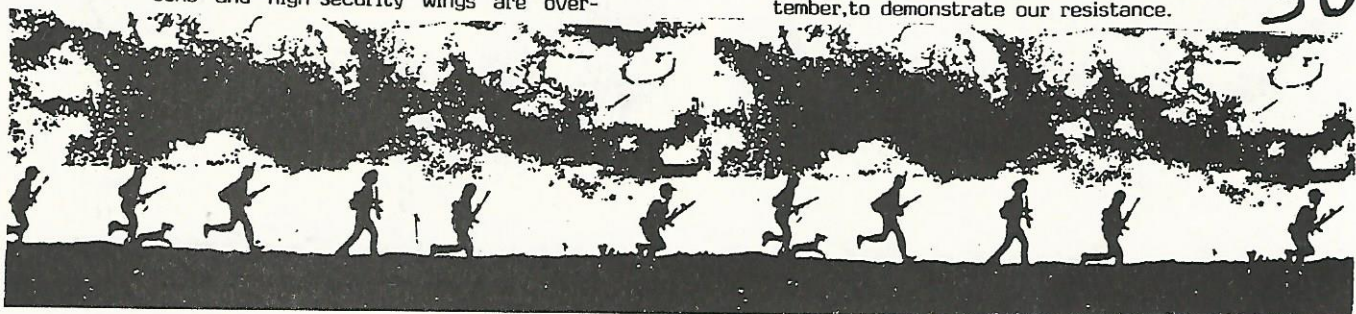
And.....how could it be different..... Switzerland is there again: Together with the BRD, their investors are amongst the most important financiers of the Turkish régime. Large projects, such as the building of dams and chemical factories are secured by Swiss politicians with the Export Risk Guarantee (ERG). But also the development of the tourist industry, the arms-sales satisfy the greed of the home banks. The Swiss businessman can also grab his profit. With their investments and support of the Turkish régime, Switzerland has become the main cause of the massive flight of the Turkish and Kurdish people. The Swiss refugee/no-refugee policy however confronts them with a cynical masquerade.

This year's invitation to Turkey, to participate as guest of honour in the large Trade Exhibition in the Romandie (Comptoir Suisse de Lausanne. 8.-23.9.90) is an attempt to show a mixed-audience that good trading relations exist, and that a further intensification of these relations would help the people in Turkey. This also serves

to support the argumentation of the racist refugee/no-refugee policy, that argues that there are no reasons for Turkish and Kurdish people to leave Turkey, and therefore that these people can be sent back at any time.

We are all going to Lausanne on 8 September, to demonstrate our resistance.

30





Who is the bureaucrat's enemy ?

The Comptoir Suisse 1990 in Lausanne, a popular exhibition for Swiss big-business, will be opened 8 September. This year's guest of honour is Turkey, who's blood-stained state- and business representatives will be able to present themselves as honourable democrats and trade-partners. This act of white-washing is one of the renowned 'favours', to give the military dictatorship, notorious for brutal torture, exploitation and repression, a pseudo-democratic air.

Till now we have heard of no serious attempt from the majority social-democrat city council, or its leader, Yvette Jaggi, to prevent this invitation, seen by many as a provocation. The necessary political will is obviously lacking. We therefore consider the official support of the planned national demonstration on the opening day merely as an alibi-manoeuvre.

The organisers of the demo; bureaucrats from left-wing parties, unions, refugee and human-rights organisations, limit themselves to a march from the rail-station to the Comptoir and back. Not one speaker from a Turkish and/or Kurdish organisation will be allowed to speak at the meeting at the main entrance. In close co-operation with the police they want to set up a 150 man strong order-guard from members of the PdA, DSL and Construction and Timber Union, to protect the Comptoir from "attacks by militant autonomes". At a press conference on the 5th September, they also prematurely distanced themselves from any action that

goes further than the borders they themselves dictate.

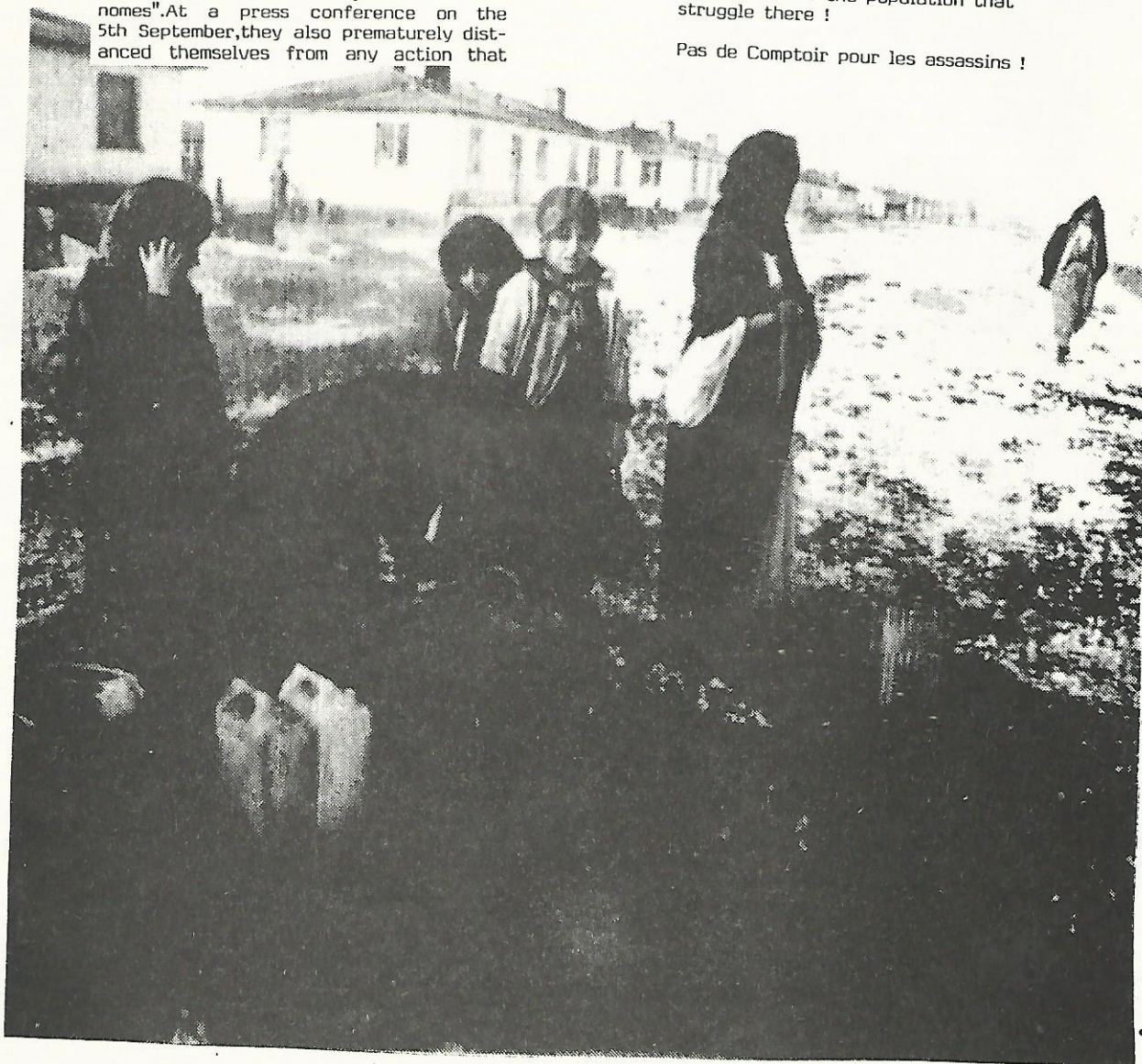
This makes the organisers' motivation clear: to channel the wide-spread anger. In this way they show that the social-partnership with the Swiss exploiters and oppressors is more important for them than the struggle for better conditions in Turkey and elsewhere.

This way of pursuing 'refugee policies', 'fighting' racism and sexism, this kind of 'anti-fascism' in reality protects and supports the profit-makers' cruel strategies that make themselves clear in the closing of the borders, the separating of Swiss nationals and foreigners, white and black, and the open economic- and, necessarily hidden, political support of reactionary régimes.

The bureaucrats protect that which we fight against. When we squat houses, set up safe-places for refugee-women and men, relate to the struggles of political prisoners, take action against gene-reproduction technology and population politics to name just a few examples.

We will develop the resistance to the macabre 'hospitality' at the Comptoir in our own way, as part of our struggles against the capitalist and patriarchal structures in our country. We feel ourselves connected, not only with the Turkish and Kurdish emigrants, but especially with those parts of the population that struggle there !

Pas de Comptoir pour les assassins !





# hunger- strike

## in spain

while we write this text, the spanish prisoners are in hungerstrike since more than 9 months. it is the longest and hardest hungerstrike which political prisoners have been doing in west-europe for the regroupment and against the detention of isolation. josé sevilano martin died in it and many of the others will have hard healthy damages for ever or even die, even if hungerstrike is finished. it is an enormous use and it is a fight for all of us, in all countries of the coming european market and even further.

the outcome of this strike will have importance for all political prisoners who are fighting for the regroupment and generally for all prisoners, because the principle of isolation is also used more and more against them. and for all of us it has importance, because it will have a decisive influence on the conditions of revolutionary fight in europe.

the ruling class will turn off our throat so that we are not able to be an orientating power in whole misery which brings the west-european market for a part of the people in europe and for the biggest part of people in trikont. the smash of the prisoners-collective in spain and the murder on the prisoners is one more decisive step for that. for all of us it is important to overcome this kind of thinking, that special groups, for example the families or prisoner-support groups, are 'competent' for the prisoners. or to find political-ideological differences more important than to push through in common against TREVI. for example in euskadi it is very good, that in spite of surely very great political differences between the liberationfight there and GRAPD/PCE(r) there is a strong solidarity with the strike. they simply integrate the hungerstrike in their own fight.

also in FRG meanwhile there were several initiatives, in which the regroupment is integrated in the concrete fights and the connection between both is seen. squatted houses are named after josé sevilano, one initiative against the new foreigner-rules made a resolution to the spanish prisoners and develop the context between both. actions for squatted houses and against yuppification were simultaneous made for the regroupment of the spanish prisoners. an european women-action-day to prisonfights at 2.11. will also integrate the strike in spain. in this way we can reach much, for example we can partly break through the no-reporting of the medias. finally this no-reporting is for that nobody thinks about the fact, that the spanish government is making a mass-murder and together with them all other european governments.

T.R.E.V.I. = terrorism, radicalism, extremism, violence, international -  
TREVI is a secret committee of the ministers of the interior and justice of the 12 EC-states, switzerland, austria, sweden, the usa and canada. besides als the chiefs of the anti-terror-squads, experts of secret services and high cops are members of this committee. they have workshops which often takes place and are working out proposals.

### CHRONOLOGY

this chronology of course is not complete, we know that there have been also solidary actions to the spanish prisoners in france, belgium and canada, but we don't know exactly when, what and where.

in march, one week after the attack at 2 district-headquarters of the netherland frontierguard (marechaussee), the Revolutionary AntiRascist Action (RARA) made a bombattack at the ministry of justice of the netherlands. they named the action after cresco gallende (cresco gallende was murdered at the 19.6.1981 after a more than 100 days long hungerstrike by the spanish government).

the action aimed against the responsible planners

and strategists of the criminal refugee-politics, the refugee-camps, the ultra-modern jails and the automate instruments of control. in the declaration RARA refers to the struggle of the spanish prisoners and demands their regroupment.

21.-25. 5. [redacted]  
daily declaration in berlin at the kurfuerstendamm  
25.5.  
spontaneous demonstration with 200 people in berlin-kreuzberg after the death of josé sevilano martin  
26./27.5.  
in berlin the windows of 2 SPD-district-offices are smashed  
28.5.  
in hamburg the plenum of the "initiative against the foreigner law" makes a resolution  
end of may [redacted]

several initiatives in italy  
\* in mestre (near venezia) 50 people squatted the offices of ANSA. the italian news agency was asked to print a leaflet "break the isolation"  
\* in padua the evening before there is a manifestation with people from several italian cities  
\* in bologna sit-in in front of a spanish college  
\* in neapel posters are pasted  
\* in venezia there are red colour-eggs thrown against the spanish part of the biennale (international film exhibition) and the israelian flag is fetched down



# juni

beginning of the month  
in zuerich, switzerland, there is a street theatre at  
several places. they play the story of the prisoners  
collectives and how they were teared apart. they play  
on two lorries and it takes one hour

1.-3.6.  
the congress of the radical left in cologne makes a  
solidarity resolution

7.6.  
fire-attack to SEAT in freiburg

8.6.  
in east-berlin the spanish embassy is squatted by 12  
people and about 60 people demonstrate in front of  
it. the action is send in television and press, parti-  
cularly in spain they report very much about it

11.6.  
demonstration in front of the spanish embassy in  
kopenhagen/denmark

two of the imprisoned squatters of WNC (groningen)  
made their hungerstrike for the end of their own  
isolation also as an solidaritystrike with the priso-  
ners in spain.

2.7.  
in groningen/netherlands a "week of spain" was opened  
by the mayor, staatsen, and the spanish trade consul,  
valencia. 25 people took this event for getting pub-  
licity to the hungerstrike of the spanish prisoners.  
they confronted the 250 special guests with banners  
and leaflets

21.6.  
in wiesbaden in the center of the city/pedestrian  
precinct, people paint a big picture to the hunger-  
strike in spain. it happens during the day, leaflets  
are given to the people

23.+24.6.  
in frankfurt and hamburg are manifestations with a  
member of the spanish familiy-group and a former pri-  
soner, 300 people come to each manifestation  
the frg-wide squatter-meeting makes a resolution

28./29.6.  
in koeln two lorries and 5 cars in a daimler-benz  
representation are covered with colour (so that they  
need new paint) and the tyres are punctured. a  
paper with slogans is left:  
- solidarity with the hungerstrike of the political  
prisoners in spain for their re-groupment  
- greetings to those who attack the ICC-capitalist-  
meeting in hamburg  
- keep hands of the squatted houses in koeln and  
everywhere  
- hafenstrasse remains

also in koeln a window of CC-bank is smashed and a  
bottle of stinking acid is thrown inside the bank.  
the CC-bank is a daughter of the spanish "banko  
santander". in the declaration is demanded:  
- re-groupment of the spanish prisoners  
- no eviction of hafenstrasse, weisshausstr. and all  
other squatted houses or centers

end of june  
in zuerich is a big poster-action, 34 offices are  
34 travel agencies are covered with posters  
30.6.  
at the congress of the spanish "judges for democracy"  
they pass a resolution in which they criticize the  
hard attitude of the spanish government and demand a  
quick solution

# juli

3./4.7.  
in hannover the panes of the ministry for federal and  
europe-matters are smashed. "the ministry is a regio-  
nal coordination and decision athority in the capita-  
list standardizing process in westeurope. we attacked  
the ministry in international solidarity with the  
imprisoned and charged squatters in groningen/nether-  
lands, who have trial at this week, and the political  
prisoners from GRAPO and PCE/r, who are in hunger-  
strike for their regroupment." (quote from the dec-  
laration)

6.+7.7.  
manifestation with a former spanish prisoner in  
zuerich and bern (switzerland)

15.7.  
the spanish newspaper "el mundo" publishes a half-  
page report for the regroupment. it is signed by 400  
spanish people (among them more than 100 lawyers,  
various professors, doctors and journalists)

19.7.  
demonstration in freiburg with 300 people



27.7.  
the red army fraction attacks with their commando  
"josé sevellano martin" the permanent secretary of  
the FRG-department of the interior, neusel. in connec-  
tion with the attack it is the first time since the  
hungerstrike started that longer reports about the  
strike and the situation of the prisoners are send in  
the medias of FRG.

28.7.  
in koeln a house is squatted and namend after josé  
sevellano. the house is evicted three days later

30./31.7.  
in nuernberg/fuerth at two SEAT-branches the people  
made the cars have no paint

## august

11.8.  
in berlin there are fire-attacks to two SEAT-branches

13.8.  
in wuppertal there is a fire-attack to a VW/audi-  
branch

17.8. in koeln the locks of 100 banks, companies,  
police-stations, schools and so on, are stucked down.  
slogan-papers are left:

- no eviction of the squatted houses and centers
- weissshauss remainsw
- solidarity with the hungerstrike of the spanish pri-  
soners
- regroupment now

21.8.  
in koeln at the demonstration for the remaining of  
weisshausstr. (since 4 years squatted center in koeln)  
they also showed solidarity with the spanish prisoners

21./22.8.  
in neumuenster cars of the SEAT-branch are damaged

regularly solidarity actions:  
in koeln each thursday at 4 p.m. is a solidarity-drum  
in front of a spanish bank  
in hamburg also each thursday memorial guard in front  
of the spanish general consulate between 10 and  
12 a.m.  
in mainz each saturday solidarity drum

at the 6. of september the GRAPO attacked with bombs  
the ministry of economics, the stock exchange and the  
supreme court in madrid \*\*\*\*\*

the spanish members of the families urgent need mo-  
ney: Candelas del Pino, number 04713/2, Banco  
Bilbao Vizcaya, Madrid

in some cities of FRG an action-day for the regroup-  
ment at 18. october is discussed and prepared. also  
the situation of the political prisoners in FRG  
shall be a part. the 18. of october, anniversary  
of the murder in stammheim, is also taken because  
this murder on the prisoners in 1977 brings to the  
point the fascist tradition and continuity of FRG.  
this day shall be an antifascist and antiimperialist  
actionday.



## SELF-CRITICISM AND FOUNDAMENTAL REFLECTION

concerning the long-lasting struggle in context with the hunger-strike of GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners

since december 1st GRAPO prisoners are hungerstriking. from the beginning certain comrades of zurich, bern and other swiss cities declare their solidarity with this struggle. why this solidarity?

on one side there is the consciousness that isolation, individualism and alienation are synonyms of the capitalist system and torture of isolation will increasingly become important as a modern method of counterinsurgency.

on the other side there is the idea of collectivity, without it there is no historic event, no revolutionary process and no revolutionary identity. for this kind of collectivity not only the collectives of GRAPO and PCE(r), commune carmen lopez and commune carlos marx, the political prisoners in west-germany, france, belgium and italy stand, but also the revolutionary armed process in these countries on the whole. during this 20 years of struggle the various ideological positions tried to find an answer-theoretically and practically-of the final central question: how proletarian collectivity and with it class consciousness, class solidarity, proletarian internationalism can be built up and developed.

the struggle of the political prisoners and our struggle to support them have to be part of our daily class struggle. will mean resistance is to weaken the enemy and to start to build up a revolutionary power.

this struggle will give you sufficient possibilities to develop the different aspects of revolutionary politics. according to this we think that the question of width, pressure, success and visible results and perspectives get another dimension. you can get an awareness and consciousness concerning this important aspects only by struggling practically. made mistakes and analysis of the different steps are (according to our experience) important parts of the development of consciousness.

the clear political point of view as an orientation for individual intervention does not exist at the beginning of the struggle but during it, born of the dialectic of action and its analysis. just two examples before starting a more general discussion:

it was talked a lot about an action in march. it was a coordinated action of solidarity in zurich and bern (butter acid against spanish general-consulate in bern and against the spanish tourist board and the banco del bilbao in zurich) with two aims: to hit the spanish state/its representatives here not only symbolically and to break the blocking of information having by the bourgeois medias having lasted already for several months. several means were used: at the day of this action you could find a lot of banners of solidarity with the hungerstrike at zurichs bridges. a falsificated declaration about the butter acid action allegedly made by the spanish general-consulate was send to various bourgeois medias, in the hope to provoke an immediate dementi of the consulate. In this manner the falsification was one part of a complex action.

Generally we think that such a kind of falsification bears some problems.

It is hardly transporting the idea of an action. The - pretended - necessity to use such a signification is an expression of bad relations of power - here the critic/ selfcritic have to start. The falsification was made without a conscious perception and analyses of the situation in general. Strongly original aim - to reach the real public, which was totally confused by this falsification.

The left-wing medias got the falsification, though it was written only for the bourgeois medias.

This selfcritics is quite late because it needed a process of consciousness. But it got its impression in practice already: The second example that we want to mention:

A street theater by some comrades. With a lot of clearness and consciousness they dealt with the question of a wide public, the breaking of bourgeois medias blocking off information and how to change the relations of power generally. The blocking off information was broken a little by informing different parts of the public directly and understandably. Distributing flyers and spontaneous discussions during performances made a



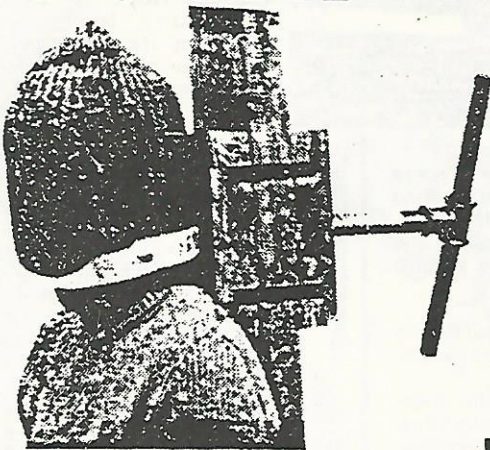
lively exchange possible. Graffiti and posters at walls were permanently part of this spreading of informations - without doubt the most solid manner of agitation.

Here we like to add some general thoughts concerning the permanent discussed question of the general determination of struggle with political prisoners. During the last months imaginations were developed concerning the character which is necessary for a wide solidarity. The most important aspect is not the width, worrying about the effects of torture of isolation and is presented in bourgeois medias.

We prefer more basic-orientated politics, which declares the revolutionary contents as an aim (this sentence we neither understood in German, the translator). So a lot of activities were done - as never before. Without using the bourgeois medias they reached wide public and improved the revolutionary movement. The question of continuity is a question of imaginations of perspectives. If the aim is the visible success at once the continuity will not last very long. As things are, how can an immediate success be possible. In other struggles we think of a long term process as well. The material success of political prisoners struggle - the regroupement - (the blocking off of information was broken a little bit by informing relations of power in the complete revolutionary process. If this is our perspective (& not the immediate success) the continuity becomes a matter of course. (??... the translator). We think about the prisoner's struggle as one step of the revolutionary process on the whole. Though our solidarity is generally orientated at revolutionary politics on which the capitalist state reacts with isolation torture.

**VAKANTIELAND SPANJE:**

**adem-**



**benemend**

**Steun Spaanse politieke  
gevangenen**

ACCION FUEGO, giro 26 98 600, Utrecht

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we admit that there are only a few comrades taking part at that struggle. but a it is important, that there is a collective process of learning has been taking part and is still continuing - being analysed more consciously - again and again. starting point were the general experiences of political prisoners struggles. crux of the matter was the realisation that the end of isolation, i.e. the regroupment can only be reached by a development of the revolutionary context on the whole. consequently thought, this means, that the prisoners struggle has the same character as all other class struggles. this means that the lack of public pressure can only be developed by change of general disadvantageous relations of power. what is "public pressure" if not masses wide revolutionary consciousness and its ability to be mobilized? the reformist width orientates itself only to the victims and prevents the development of a revolutionary movement. this is shown by the last hungerstrike in west-germany.

therefor it is a mistake to orientate one's struggle only to the hungerstrike or to the sick prisoners who are not able to stay in jail - as well as to reduce it to single campaigns. the struggle of with the political prisoners is part of the class struggle and in this manner the conception has to be.

even although we are touched more deeply as in other struggles, due to the enemy's supremacy, nowhere expressed so strongly as here.

but the political prisoners are no victims! subjective will and revolutionary moral are not sufficient to change relations of power. who doesn't understand this will resign - soon or later.

there is still the question of the measure ability of our political actions.

in a revolutionary action targets to a development of revolutionary power and revolutionary structures. not only in the heads of people but also materialized in different ways (liberated areas, red-zones, worker's and soldier's councils etc) but now we are not living in a revolutionary situation - it has still to be created. in a time of the importance to develop class consciousness and the lack of clear points of view revolutionary action is hardly measurable - at least it isn't by concessions by the ruling.

the small bourgeois defeats, the active and practical resistance who is not simply symbolic is visible. much more important are the effects for us. how did the political prisoners contributed to our struggle. the new experiences can give important impulses to other struggles. that are processes who are not racket but determine the revolutionary process as a whole.

enforcing our process will enable us to declare our contents to the progressive and interested parts of the class to attack them.

zurich, august 1990  
several comrades



# RAF ABOUT THE ATTACK AT NEUSEL

"People who refuse to finish the struggle either win or they die - instead of losing and dying"

(from the last letter of Holger Meins)

On 27-7-'90 we attacked the counter-insurgency expert Hans Neusel, state secretary in the ministry of the interior in Bonn with the commando Jose Manuel Sevillano.

We failed the military goal - the explosion was supposed to guarantee his death and to make 100% sure that no innocent bystanders would be injured. Within these limits we used too little explosives. We intended to call Neusel to account for his crimes. He organizes the war against everyone fighting for liberation, self-determination, a life worth living and against the destruction this system brings. Neusel has been the driving force behind many 'TREV' meetings and the intensification and standardization of west-european counter-insurgency and immigration policy. Neusel and the french ministry of the interior have initiated regular meetings between 'terrorism'-experts of the leading world-economy states since '87.

Jose Manuel Sevillano is dead. He was killed in May by the Spanish government after 177 days of hungerstrike. The imprisoned comrades of the GRAPO and PCE(r) have been in a long and hard strike for their regroupment the past 8 months. They have to get through with their demands and need solidarity and initiative from all those who are seriously fighting for radical changes and a human society.

The Spanish state is forcing the hard line and torture against the prisoners. It makes the decisions and carries the responsibility, but the lines are laid out by west-european and Nato-committees. Because of this, the FRG as the leading european power is responsible for the death of Jose Manuel Sevillano as well.

He is either member or chairman of all special operations committees dealing with the combat against insurrection (e.g. concerning the kidnapping of german executives in Lebanon or the coordination of the search after actions of us...) and of all governmental secret service committees.

During the hungerstrike of the West-german prisoners for their regroupment in spring '89, Neusel was the actual leader of the ministry of the interior - Zimmerman had unofficially left this function long before. At this time, the ministry actively put forwards the motto: "The state shall not be blackmailed by these prisoners". Neusel took part at meetings of representatives of the regional ministries of justice to act for the position of the federal ministry of the interior.

In connection with this hungerstrike it is obvious: as long as the government's strategy of hardness cannot be broken by the prisoners and all who are fighting for the regroupment, Neusel is one of those who'll step over the deaths of our comrades.

Currently, Neusel represents the hard NATO-line for the federal government in the attack of the west-european ruling class against the imprisoned revolutionaries in Spain.

Neusel indirectly represents the personnel continuity of german fascism from the Third Reich to "Grossdeutschland" towards the Fourth Reich. His political career ran side by side for years with old-Nazi and ex-president of the FRG, Carstens. He spreads his fascist thoughts and ideas without even pretending to be democratic. Dealing with the admission of 14 revolutionary prisoners from Chili, condemned to death by the fascist military regime in '87, Neusel demanded of them to refute the accusations against them, thereby forcing their execution.

Neusel takes the decisions about the use of the GSG9 and about who is to be trained by this elite killer-group, for instance the turkish special forces who are today slaughtering the people of Kurdistan.

The socialist gonzales-government wants to show they are a reliable member of the european power-block - especially in view of E'92- by the attack on the spanish prisoners. This happens with the total acknowledgement of the other west-european states. These states - with the FRG as the leading one - have developed into a world-power and need to enforce their inner stability against the ever-growing contradictions which cannot be pacified any longer. Because of this, all over Europe they are trying to oppress every thought of resistance or self-determination by the permanent demonstration of their totalitarian power.

In this context, the question whether the spanish prisoners will be able to win their fight is of great importance to the next phase and the creation of revolutionary practise in western Europe.

In '77, the FRG tried to put an end to the guerilla once and for all and to force the whole left into deep resignation and powerlessness by defeating us. In the same way, the attack against the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) is meant to hit the whole revolutionary movement and all progressive forces in western Europe.

The smashing of the prisoners' collectives and the isolation of our comrades is supposed to change last years' development. At this moment, the unity and the consciousness about the necessity to act together is much discussed about in the western european revolutionary movement.

The attempt to force this change result from the international developments: imperialism has won the cold war. The breakdown of the socialist countries and their historical function for the liberation movements in the countries of the 'third world' caused a new stabilization of the imperialist power. The rapid changes in the last months and the annexation of the GDR brought the FRG unlimited supremacy and the whole west-european block became a world power. From this position, they are trying to suppress the revolutionary fights and struggles for living conditions and there where aims already had been achieved, to bend back the development.

Since the beginning/middle of the eighties, when the liberation process reached limits, all fighting people had to look for new ways. This meant,



that new base movements arose additionally to the revolutionary liberation movements in many countries of the 'third world'. Base movements are fighting for changes in inhuman and unworthy living conditions and have started to organize their own daily lives. Thus in different countries a base power has developed, existing beneath the reactionary power of the state (e.g. the intifada in Palestine and Kurdistan or the liberation movements in El Salvador and the Philippines).

This development also expresses itself in the highly industrialized countries of the west. In the past few years struggles, in which many different people come together, developed, fighting for radical changes here and now. For one, they are opposed to the destroying imperialist projects. Furthermore, struggles for self-determined collectives resulted from the experience of many that the capitalist reality with its competition, the impossibility of personal relations and its isolation is destructive.

That's why for instance squatting movements arose in whole western Europe. Where people obtained self-determined space by fighting, new possibilities and points of reference for the formation of a revolutionary movement emerged.

They want to roll back and overturn these developments. The current projects of the contra-revolution: suppression of the prisoners' collective in Spain, crushing the jail-riots in several countries, the brutal eviction of houses having been squatted for years and jail-sentences in Groningen (NL) and Denmark, the raids and agitation against the Hafenstrasse, they all belong together. They're aimed at any attempt showing the possibility of a self-determined life against their oppression, like the Hafenstrasse, indicating the existence of a human reality in opposition to the capitalistic daily round. Looking at the international situation - especially the FRG becoming a fascist big-german world power - a lot of comrades and other people standing up against oppression and inhumanity don't think we have a chance, because of the enemy being superior and the forces for radical changes being too weak.

And that's the other side: this resignation and partly paralisation stops lots of initiatives, which could be steps towards the creation of a strong revolutionary movement. The decision to fight against the imperialistic system and for a free world - where people could live self-determined and free - cannot depend on the victory being close or having to

be fought for.

The decision for the revolutionary struggle can only result from one's own experience within the system and its brutality and destruction and from the own ideas and aims about what life could be like. In our opinion, the consciousness about this experience is an important key for the next steps towards the creation of a revolutionary power of resistance, because within it lie everyone's roots for uprising. The experience of being destroyed by the system can lead to the conscious and final decision for radical changes in the ruling reality and for a self-determined life. We all have to tackle becoming a joint force now.

The decision to take action against Neusel now in context with the strike in Spain is a new step for us on the way to create revolutionary power against their power together in a joint

struggle for the achievement of the demands standing in the centre of the whole discussion. We didn't have in mind an intervention in the hungerstrike of the Spanish comrades from the beginning. It became apparent, however, that even after the murdering of Jose Manuel Sevillano, the growing contradictions in Spain itself and the varied initiatives in other west-European countries for pushing through the demands, still the gonzales government would hold on to the hard line.

Furthermore, as we see the situation, the west-European block would insist upon the smashing of the prisoners' collectives in Spain and the liquidation of the comrades there to worsen the conditions for all struggles.

At this point we decided upon an armed intervention. Only armed action would bring about a new perspective in this situation. Thus we were able to bring new intensity to any action that had taken place in context with the strike and to make a new start possible by creating new political space for it.

Any initiative counts now!

The anti-imperialistic front in western Europe today is consisting of a variety of struggles, and will stay that way because of the different conditions in the individual countries and the different contents, determined by the fighters themselves.

In our opinion a joint step towards the creation of a strong revolutionary movement is possible now by communicating about the focus of the confrontation imperialism/liberation. Thus we can develop a joint intervention. Our attack is meant to work in two ways:

on one hand, to concretely push through the prisoners' demands and to create a revolutionary power against their power in western Europe; on the other hand to start a long phase of struggle against the newly created 'grossdeutschland'/west-European world power.

The FRG and the new ruling class of the GDR are pursuing the same aims and imperialistic plans as the nazi-fascism by establishing 'grossdeutschland'. The german capital will not lead its third invasion against the people of Europe in this century by military means, but by means of economy and politics. The submission of millions of people to the market principals, profit and the product structures brings about new suffering and misery for the people. This time there won't be millions of deads and destroyed towns. This time there will be millions of humbled and oppressed people, brought to despair by the destruction of their living structures, personal relations and internal perishment.

Based on this new power of the FRG-capital as leader of western Europe, they intend to renew the oppression and plundering of the 'third-world' countries.

We stand up against this development with all our energy, because it is our responsibility in the international class war to stop their plans.

Our revolutionary power against the rising of the west-European Beast!

Push through the regroupment of the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) - fight for the regroupment of all revolutionary prisoners as a step towards their freedom!

against the world-power FRG/west-Europe!

Organize the armed struggle fight together and we will win together!

WE CAN!





Prisons are the sharp end of the state. When school, work, racism and all the other methods of control fail them, the ruling class use prisons to bring us into line. Separating people from their families and friends, censoring letters to keep people isolated. We break their laws made for their gain and we have to suffer for it as an example to the rest of our class. Most crime is economic - people surviving in the capitalist system by taking what they can in defiance of "the law". In a system based on class oppression and property, "crime" will never be wiped out - people will never accept what little the state allows them, they will take more if they need it.

So prisons and capitalism go hand in hand. In the face of a growing resistance worldwide against the minority class who control capitalism, more and more people will end up behind bars and greater links have to be made between those inside and those outside. We are fighting the same enemy.

None of us have control of our lives but on the outside we are fed the myth that we do. Support and solidarity for those locked up is essential. Not just political prisoners inside for holding certain beliefs and/or acting on them, but ALL prisoners who are inside because of the class war that is constantly going on in this society, FOR TRYING TO SURVIVE. BOTH THE INNOCENT AND THE GUILTY

## PRISON REVOLT '90

British prisons are recognised to be amongst the worst in Europe. They are the most overcrowded - often 3-4 people in cells built for 1-2, and many prisoners locked up for 23 hours a day. Prison officers ("Screws") are in a position of power and so regularly assault and torture inmates. In this system there is no chance of a prisoners complaint against a brutal screw a screw back or doesn't conform he'll be had up for assault and more time slapped on his sentence (and prisoners regularly die in British prisons often with no comeback at all on the screws). Not only this, British prisons are mostly old, decaying, primitive - in many cells still have no flushing toilets and prisoners have to 'slop out'.

The Strangeways prison in Manchester is a typical example of all the worst of British prisons. For years prisoners have warned that you can't lock up 100s of men up for most of the day in barbaric conditions without them getting angry. This year they finally had enough. On April 1st a revolt broke out during a religious service and the inmates very quickly took over the prison. In the days that followed, in their anger they nearly destroyed the prison, drove out the screws and occupied the roof. Over a thousand inmates began the protest which lasted 25 days in all until the last group of five surrendered. Inspired by the Strangeways resistance, over 20 prisons experienced some action from rooftop protests, sitdown strikes and occupations to sieges and riots. As Strangeways' prisoners gave up and were transferred all over the country they spread the revolt.





Paul Hill (of the Guildford 4) and Dominic Noonan, who had both done time at Strangeways, have said that the prison could have gone up at any time - the sense of frustration and anger had been building up for years.

Relatives of the prisoners on the roof gathered outside regularly during the occupation - many of them expressed solidarity with the men and contrary to media reports most did not appeal to them to come down and end their action, but supported them in their continuing defiance. The pickets of Strangeways were hassled by the police; the mother of Paul Taylor, one of the last to surrender, was arrested and assaulted. Also, support for the prisoners was noticeable amongst many working class people throughout the country. Most people know a friend or relative who has been inside or visited someone inside and faced humiliating searches or verbal abuse from screws. (Britain has the second highest prison population in Europe, after Turkey). Everyone knew what the prisoners were making a stand for.

#### SOLIDARITY

The solidarity actions in over 20 prisons across the country, as well as the support from outside, show the way forward, building links between those outside and those on the inside. There have been demands for a prisoners charter calling for minimum decent conditions, longer visits, independent complaints bodies, better wages for prison labour, reviewing of sentencing and an end to the censorship of mail, amongst other points.

This must be supported in the short term. In the long term it is vital to recognise that prisons cannot be made into humane or comfortable places their function is to smash the spirit of prisoners and to keep them isolated. The struggle for prison reform has to be linked to the wider struggle to replace society with a system based on cooperation and mutual aid.

#### ABC: The Anarchist Black Cross.

ABC is an international network of activists/groups involved with supporting prisoners. Originally it was set up to give solidarity to anarchist/class war prisoners and, due to a lack of resources and the small number of people involved it concentrates on individuals. Recently ABC groups have begun to broaden out their support depending on what resources they have available.

ABC groups/individuals write letters to prisoners, publicise individual cases and attempts to organise within prisons, campaign for innocent or brutalised prisoners and highlight the cases of those who want it. As yet we are a small network but hopefully the upsurge in prisoners' resistance should encourage the creating closer links through the prison walls.

#### CONVICTION

A group that publicises the cases of framed or innocent prisoners. Has done a lot of work exposing the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad who framed Martin Foran and the Birmingham 6, among hundreds of other cases which are now coming to light.

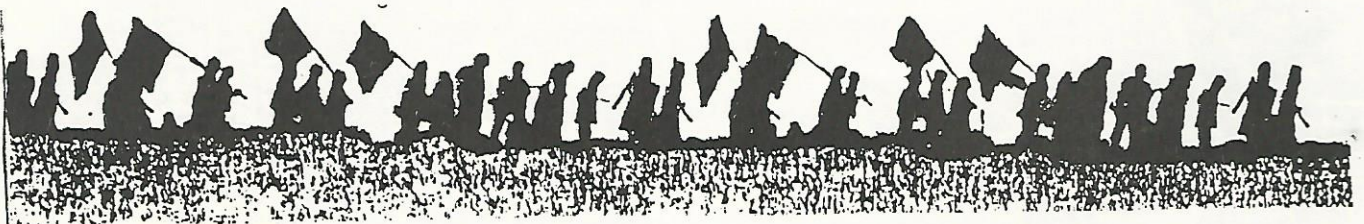
#### PLA:

Originally the Prisoners Liberation Army who had activists on the outside who would beat up particularly nasty screws in prison car parks!

Now the Prisoners League Association, an attempt to unite prisoners against brutal conditions. PLA 'Chief', Dominic Noonan is moved regularly from nick to nick to prevent him getting settled, but this only gives him the chance to make more contacts for the PLA! He may be about to be framed for 'conspiracy', with regard to the Strangeways uprising.

Contact; PO Box 522 Sheffield S1 3FF, UK.

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# TRIAL AGAINST 2 IRISHMEN DUESSELDORF/FRG



demonstrators in front of the court  
at first day of the trial

On the 16th. of August 1990 the trial against the two Irishmen Gerry Hanratty and Gerry McGough was opened in Düsseldorf F.R.G. They are accused of an infringement against the "War Weapons Control Act" and the bombing of a British army camp in Duisburg, and in addition Gerry McGough is accused of the bombing of the NATO Headquarters in Mönchengladbach-Rheindahlen. On the opening day of the trial there was a lot of coverage from the press who also showed great interest in the rally held by the Ireland Solidarity groups outside the courthouse bunker in Düsseldorf. Along with background information about the case, the relationship to the two prisoners and the Republican Movement, Irish music was played and poems written by Gerry Hanratty were read out. Before the chief state prosecutor could read out the charge sheet, Gerry Hanratty's lawyer Deckers made an application, requesting that the parts of the charge sheet referring to the two Gerrys as P.I.R.A. members (Provisional Irish Republican Army), and as such members of a "foreign terrorist organization" be deleted. The reasons given by the lawyer rested mainly on the fact that the two are not being charged with paragraph 129a of the penal code and that is why the question of being a member of a terrorist organization does not belong in the charge sheet. Because being a member of a terrorist organization is a legal status according to paragraph 129a and that is not the case here, the formulation in the charge sheet is being used politically in order to discriminate against the accused and to negate the political essence of the Irish conflict.

Gerry Hanratty supported the application on grounds of his own, going into history he made it clear that the Irish fight for freedom is legitimate and therefore cannot be terrorist. The chief state prosecutor argued formally against it, making quite clear that the passages in question were needed to support the political assertion of paragraph 120 GVG - the courts constitutional law. Paragraph 120 GVG was expanded



A booklet (in German) has been brought out by the Ireland Solidarity groups here in the FRG, giving background information about the case. The 1st. issue of a Trial Info will soon be ready for publication in which the current proceedings shall be made public. The booklet can be ordered from the following address:

Ireland Solidarität West-Berlin  
c/o Asta FU  
Kiebitzweg 23  
1000 Berlin 33  
FRG

Also the two prisoners like to receive a letter from you. Also the two prisoners enjoy to receive letters from you. Please write in English. The address is:

Gerry McGough  
Gerry Hanratty  
both 6. SS OLG Düsseldorf  
Cecillienallee 3  
4000 Düsseldorf

The trial dates are as follows:

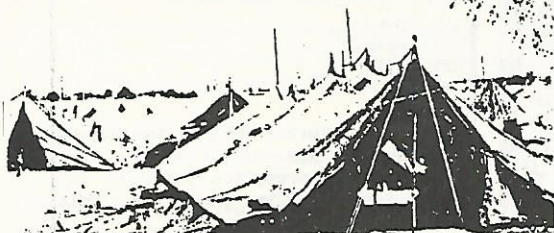
15./18./19./26.10.90  
2./8./9./15./16./22./30.11.90  
6./7./13./14./20./21.12.90  
2./3./4.1.91 all at 9 h p.m.

at the same time that paragraph 129a was renewed. Most important for this case is the part that makes the high court, and subsequently the chief state prosecutor responsible for dealing with organizations "not or not only existing in the FRG, whose purpose or function is to commit criminal acts in accordance with paragraph 129a." The application was then formally turned down without giving any exact reasons. Directly afterwards the charge sheet in its original form was read out and the two Gerrys were given the chance to say something about the charges. Gerry McGough used this for a declaration, where he went on to describe the role played by the chief state prosecutor and he also showed up British interests and their terrorist politics in the north east of Ireland. He also went into detail about the conditions he was subjected to while being held in custody in the FRG and made known that by using such methods, they would never succeed in breaking their identities. On the second day of the trial, 17th of August '90, the first witnesses were heard. On this day and the following days the witnesses heard were mainly pigs from the FRG, Belgium and Holland, and some of them gave a very interesting insight into the international cooperation between the different pig forces in Europe. At this point it became clear that the defence didn't have access to all the relevant files and now had to apply for them.

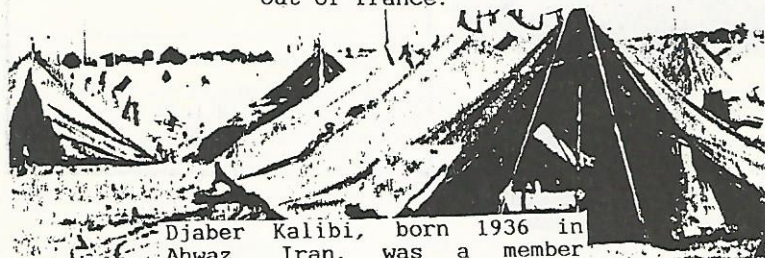
In spite of the unfriendly surroundings and the distinct attacks against the public gallery from the chief state prosecutor, the atmosphere for the 1st. couple of weeks was pretty good. Both Gerrys received much applause and lots of friendly smiles, conversation between themselves, relatives and friends was also possible during the breaks.



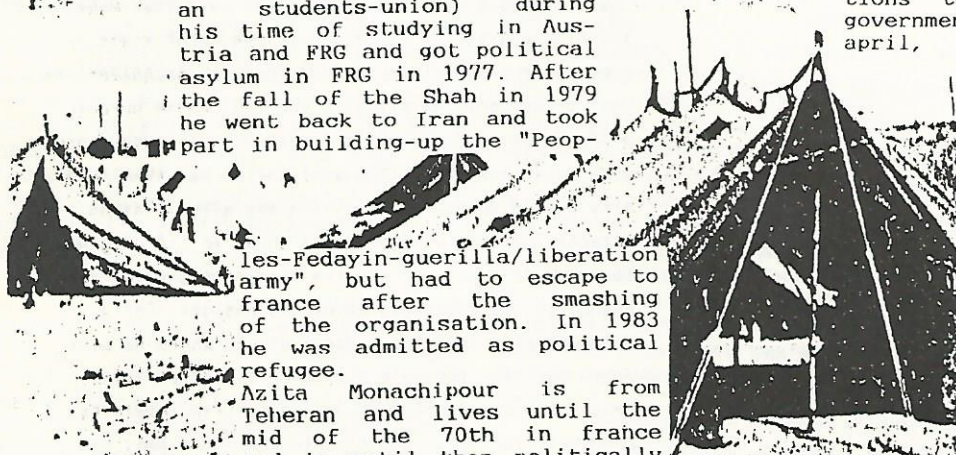
# TOWARDS THE ACTUALLY SITUATION OF TWO IRANIAN REFUGEES IN FRANCE!



Azita Monachipour and Djaber Kalibi are two Iranian communist militants, who now are threatened with expulsion out of France.



Djaber Kalibi, born 1936 in Ahwaz, Iran, was a member of the leading of CISNU (Iranian students-union) during his time of studying in Austria and FRG and got political asylum in FRG in 1977. After the fall of the Shah in 1979 he went back to Iran and took part in building-up the "Peop-



les-Fedayin-guerilla/liberation army", but had to escape to France after the smashing of the organisation. In 1983 he was admitted as political refugee.

Azita Monachipour is from Teheran and lives until the mid of the 70th in France and is until than politically active. Together with Djaber she was foundation member of the "New Iranian communist movement" in the beginning of the 80th, which has made it to its task to clear up the revolutionary movements defeat and to found a basis for a political re-determination. Nevertheless today this organisation do not exist any more. In 1983 Azita was admitted as political refugee in France too.

Both were arrested on 20. September 1986 in Paris and tortured 4 days long by the French secret service DST (plastic sacks pulled over the heads, hits, kicks and threatened shoots to death) of which Djaber has got a hearing-injury.

At 18.3.87 they were sentenced to 4 years gail for "Membership in a criminal union", the New Iranian communist movement and because of the "Trial to disturb the public order through terror" by the country-court of Paris. Also a resi-

dence-limit for 32 of the 90 départements of France was ordered through this sentence.

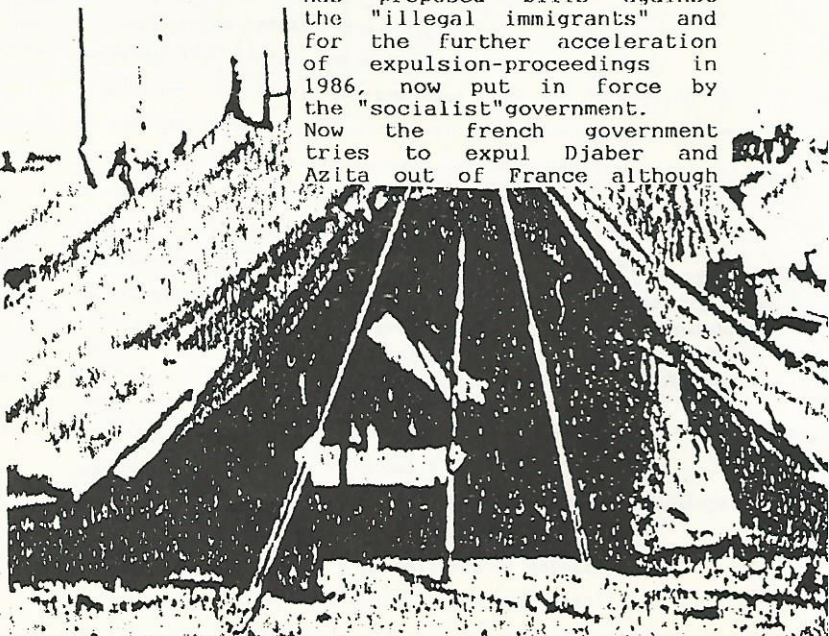
Of those residence-limits also the French former political prisoners are concerned. Dominique Poiré and Jean Asselmeyer, former in the newspaper "L'International", also concerned of this limits, wrote to that in a letter: "For us those residence-bans are the continuing of a policy which are used by the state in the gails, it is the continuing of the policy of isolation. Their aim is to prevent every political reflexion and discussion between the imprisoned militants, also after their

release. It is an exile in the 'own land', that tries to depart every militant from his people, from his comrades and the independence-fighter from his people. It aims on breaking each collective will and every collective initiative."

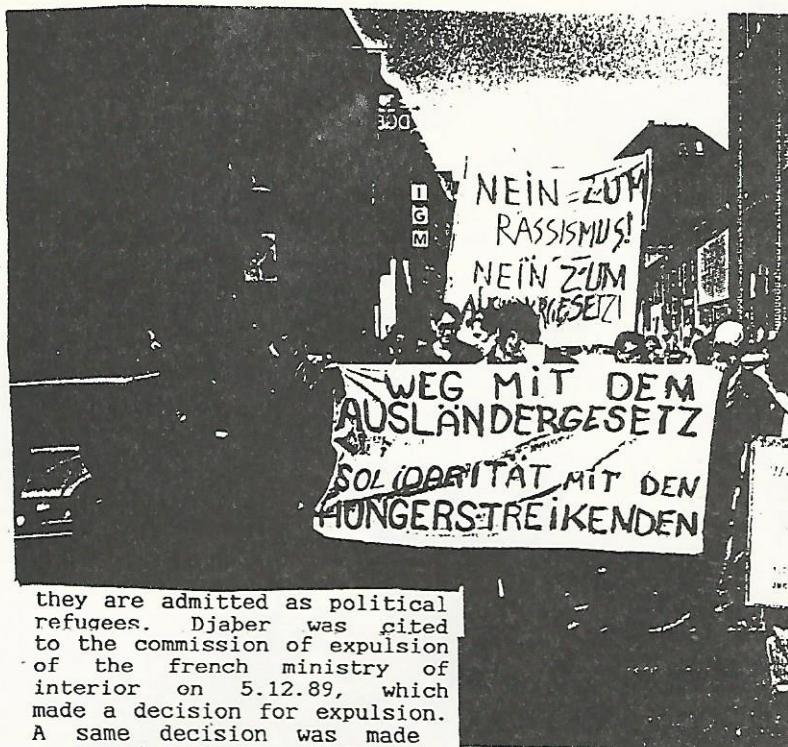
The law-suite against the two stood in context with the intention of the French state to 'normalize' its relations to Iran. The Iranian government has demanded in April, that France should

stop its support of Irak in the Gulf-war and reduce the mobility of the Iranian oppositionals drastically. For that, Iran would use its influence on Shiitic groups in Libanon in favour of the French hostages.

Djaber was released on 2.12.89 and Azita is until the 27.2.90 out of gail. The arresting and condemnation of Djaber and Azita was the first application of the new "anti-terror laws", that France has enacted on 9.9.1986. Together with the "anti-terror laws" and the establishing of a special-court, the Chirac-government has proposed bills against the "illegal immigrants" and for the further acceleration of expulsion-proceedings in 1986, now put in force by the "socialist" government. Now the French government tries to expul Djaber and Azita out of France although







they are admitted as political refugees. Djaber was cited to the commission of expulsion of the french ministry of interior on 5.12.89, which made a decision for expulsion. A same decision was made against Azita on 29.9.89. These decisions were confirmed on 20.12. by the minister of interior, who in the same time set Djaber under house-arrest. As he refused to accept this order, he was arrested on the occasion of a citation to the police. After protests of french and international human-rights-organisations he was released on the other day. Because of this refusal he had to justify himself two days long before a court in february, where the public prosecutor called for a sentence of 6 month. At 16.2. he was acquitted because of juristic failures. At 26.2. he got a residence-limit again. The trie of the french government to expul the two is a offence against the article 33 of the "Agreement about the legal status of refugees" of the United Nations from 1951. in this it set itself in a long line of measures in which the imperialistic states, ostensible in "Fight against the international Terrorism", actually also called "Anti-drug-policy, undermine the valid law of nations or distort it in their interests.

The expulsion of political refugees out of France to countrys in which they are politically persued is pratished there since many years. Beneath other measures is the expulsion policy of France also a part in the international front of the imperialistic states against national and anti-imperialistic liberation-movements and people, who support those. In France it is especially the bask people, who are concerned by these measures. The concept for that was made in 1982 during a conference of the west-european social-democratic parties in Rome, followed by concrete agreements between Spain and France, which leded to the abolition of political asyle for bask refugees in France. Since than about 100 bask people, lots of them admitted as political refugees were expelled to Spain, 50 were in this time deported int several african countries, partly they are under house-arrest and have to fear expulsion to Spain.





Beyond that, the 'Mitterand-government has abolished the 'political status' of revolutionary prisoners in 1981 and has aggravated the conditions of detention in installing the QHS (High-security-sections) in general.

The 'political status' was established during the time of the liberation-fights against the french colonialism and meant the admission for the imprisoned revolutionaries, that they were in a war against an imperialistic state (prisoners of war). This international class-war is still going on, but its existence is today nevertheless denied by juristical fog like for example by the anti-terror laws.

One of the importants demands of the imprisoned revolutionaries of Action Direct is therefore the closing of the High-security-sections and the admission of 'political status' as prisoners of war towards the Geneca convention.

The proceeding of France, but also of the other imperialistic states against the iranien opposition in exile should also contribute to that, to support the islamic fascistic regime, which secures the imperialistic interests in Iran. Djaber and Azita have said to that during their law-suit in Paris: "The Iran, like all other dominated countries, lives in a economical, political and military dependence of the imperialistic forces. These forces do not contend with it to rob and to exploit. They have forced dictatorial and bloody regimes upon the iranien people, which rob the peoples elementary rights and held them in poverty and social backwardness. They have smothered each movement that reaches for freedom and democracy in blood."

The political situation in Iran still forces the people to leave the country because of persecution and to live as refugees in exile. To that again Djaber and Azita: "The islamic republic has at first disarmed the masses, then it has re-organized the organs of suppression like police and army and then added the Pasdaran, the comitees and many others. It has liquidated the workers-councils with hits of bayonets, who had controlled the firms, it has smothered the farmers-councils, who had cultivated collectively the confiscated land in blood.

It has forced the shador to the iranien women and made laws, which prohibited the women to work in technical, academical and cultural jobs. It has tortured and murdered revolutionary and communist

women. It has attacked the kurdish, turkish, aserbaidjanish, belutish and arabic nations, who had to suffer under the persian injustice and chauvinism and has massacred the inhabitants of villages with napalm-bombs." (out of the law-suit declaration from 18.3.88)

In their solidarity-declaration to the hunger-strike of the political prisoners in FRG 1989 Azita and Djaber wrote: "The only means for combatting the imperialistic barbarism is the revolutionary fight, international and proletarian, on the basis of marxism-leninism."

(out of a paper of Working-group internationalism in Volksfront west-berlin)





## WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY AT LEAST

We didn't want to publish the following article without criticising certain aspects of it beforehand. We had a long and intensive discussion on this article (we examined it and found it 'very stimulating for further discussion') and decided finally to print it.

Because the latest developments apparently didn't provoke anybody yet to give it a try, that's why we were pleased by the fact that people finally tried to analyse the history, the mistakes and subsequently also the causes for these developments, resulting in a picture of today's situation. We also think, that it's highly important to give room to this discussion in an international newspaper, or at least give a picture of it, because many people are interested in it and questions rise about this points, especially concerning the change in circumstances for daily life and resistance. Too bad exactly those urgent, often very concrete questions have been neglected in this article. On the contrary, we were very pissed off by the abstract way of writing. How easy it seems to be for you to leave the people and their actual life out of this analysis, de-personifying it, covering it up with a very rhetorical style, leaving us with a cold feeling and in the best case with a lot of brain-gymnastics.

The people situation particularly that of the women in the GDR, who are the first on line to be sacrificed to mass-unemployment, pushed back to their homes, remains to be unclear. It's not any more comprehensible as before, what it means to be sent back into isolated flat buildings, most probably without any future chance on being re-employed somewhere, also due to the fact that official programs for children-care were the first where budgets got cut (82% of the women were employed in the GDR). Apart from this isolation, being separated from your former colleagues being most of the time your friends as well, also the heaviest burdening is been put on their shoulders. It's women, who have to satisfy rising materialistic wishes of the whole family with less money: they have to line up in front of western shops, waiting for hours, because the supermarkets and shops in the GDR, which already have been taken over by multinationals and especially west-german cooperations, sell their goods for up to double prices compared to the west. On that top of that: women are 'naturally' expected to also take care of a noble cause such as the reproduction of men, which means to soften the pain of unemployment competition and pressure etc.

Another painful example of the change in life-circumstances for the people in the GDR is the housing-situation. Up to now the rents were kept very, very low, but already it's evident that the ruling class has no interest in keeping them that low, which is on a level that meets with the costs for necessary reparations, on the contrary: rents are about to explode. Speculators are taking over whatever they can get in their filthy hands. On top of that people that live in houses, which were confiscated by the state, have to take into account that their homes are given back to the previous owners.

Naturally the consequences are not that heavy for women and

men in the FRG and West-Berlin, they are however also being more and more confronted with this political development. The way people react on these especially in the GDR, rapidly changing circumstances is often contradictory. Farmers and workers defend themselves through, partially wild strikes, demonstrations and roadblocks (public sector of waste dismissal, agricultural workers). On the other hand one can see an increase in already existing racism and sexism. Violent attacks by fascists have already caused a great deal of wounded people among a lot of women and lesbians, immigrants and left-wing people, leaving some of them badly hurt.

Although it was evident that racism and sexism existed in the GDR as well we were nevertheless shocked and surprised by their outburst. What was the course for the fact that such ideas could survive in an official anti-fascist state and even grow massively? We think as to this point that only the denial of such ideologies, or moreover degrading it as a minor priority, together with still existing feelings of german superiority and other matters, which are mentioned in the following article, could lead to such results.

In some industrial branches working-tempo has been increased, the workers have been forced into working overtime for numerous hours, flexible production is strategically being pushed through by the capitalists etc. Eastern Europe is a new market, which should be supplied with goods conquering it in the mean-time! Even if it were so that the people in the FRG benefit from the annexation contemporarily a decrease in un-employment. It becomes more and more clear though who will be paying the price eventually. Again arise of taxes is proposed, which most certainly will not inflict big cooperations and the ruling class. Apart from that cuts in the social-security-budget have already been motivated by the growing costs of the annexation of GDR and been carried out (big changes in future levels of social security, money or in case you live in a house with self-renovating conditions).

Something which we completely missed in this article however something we are disappointed by, is the fact that sexism and racism are only presented as instruments to split up and weaken class-struggle. Again de-personification. Not mentioned is the profit that men and people in the first world countries, which also includes us, have from this legitimization of exploitation of women and the people in the 3rd world countries.

It should be a continuous part of our politics, patriarchy and racism are not abstract problems, they inflict us personally; for we carry those structures around in ourselves.

Another point we wanted to criticize is a lack of attention towards the consequences of restructured Great-Germany and of the EC's extension on east european and people in 3rd world countries. We also feel the necessity to talk about the recent suspension of aid for progressive 3rd world countries.

We see that you might hardly be able to describe all this efforts and it would have to be much, as well.

Nevertheless we feel the importance to analyse it more exactly. We hope of people reflexing on it to write us their proper ideas.

Up to now there is no radical left discussion concerning these problems as well as further important questions, estimations and perspectives. It is exactly as you describe it. Nobody analyzes its history and its historical errors. And so don't wonder about this desorientation, remembering that west german's lefts' majority used to ignore east german instead of analyzing it. Instead of this urgent discussions and an open propaganda of communistic ideas a lot of 'radical' lefts denounce their former positions. There is a tendency of 'alternative reunion'. For example quiete a lot put up with capitalistic strategy and hope to enforce resistance by an accelerating reunion of lefts. It is obvious that this acceleration is not to clarify but to blur the differences of experiences and histories of individuals as well as the resistance at the whole. The lefts' tendency of annexing GDR's people and resistance had not yet been sufficiently discussed.

In addition there is an uncritical relationship to GDR's party and movements. Suddenly there is a star that parliamentary black-night-sky. the former attitude to election shows of no voting or voting void was turned into autonomes' sympathy for Gysi, chairman of PDS (heir of former states party SED). so the own lack of orientation is covered by perspectives hardly to distinguish from social democratic ideas instead of analyzing and breaking this lack of orientation.

On that background we think of the importance of your article. We have still a lot of ideas, thoughts and several additions to write upon plenty of pages, but before we have to clarify our thoughts. Perhaps more in the next edition.

What we like very much of your article was the chapter dealing with the violence of wage- and freetime society.



Now it is FRG-official: The GDR do not exist any more. It will be integrated into the FRG concerning to the "charge of the constitutional law". (quotation out of the Constitutional Law, the translator)

A lot has become different by that: Nationalism is coming out openly everywhere. The former GDR is inside the larger FRG the 'country of low wages' on 'german ground'. Rights that were obtained by fighting were pushed back and abolished especially in the GDR. The actual perspective for the still existing GDR reminds not only accidentally to the situation in FRG after 45, and so on.

All this was made possible by the existence of the imperialism. AND it was also possible by the mistakes of the socialistic movement, which have represented themselves conspicuously in the GDR.

However: The german nationalism got to an important ideological-political instrument of the ruling-class in FRG for the annexion of the GDR.

The 'german consciousness' should help to relieve the results of the imperialistic competition in the former GDR.

Corresponding to the capitalistic motto: We, the suppressed and exploited will manage it to free ourselves from the 'burden' of socialism.

Products of the GDR, which cannot be sold as products out of the GDR any longer, are getting the stamp "Made in Germany" and can be sold by this way easily. Or the products are destroyed or ploughed under the ground like it is done in the agriculture. Nationalism and rassism are the elements for the deception of the suppressed and exploited people everywhere on the earth.

Where do this become more obvious, if not in the FRG in view on the deadly reality, which is combined with the german nationalism? Where, if not in FRG, it is more obvious that sexism and the contempt of women are basic-conditions for the enlarged reproduction of the capital? All this is becoming especially in this phase of growing nationalism and rassism to an important instrument of controlling, selecting and annihilating people.

Many questions are coming to our mind on which "don't always have an answer. With this paper we want to try to get down

to the dimension standing behind these reactionary methods of imperialistic policy.

Also for us a lot is new. That is a reason why this paper is in many parts abstract, inexact, superficial. But we wanted and we want to raise response and contradiction for a discussion. We want to prevent, that resignation and lost bearing can get through everywhere.

We want a common discussion about the lies and deceptions, that the international capital are using very clever. The lies and deceptions, that should give back to the people of FRG and GDR the feeling of being 'GERMAN', to be a 'nation', and so on.

And we want the common discussion, the effort, that is apparently looking so infinite, to fight this state.

For this, this text should serve.

## New world-power FRG

Through the foreground victory about the socialism, the FRG gets an inner-political and ideological revalorization, which in fact means the 'legitimacy' of its policy and its economy after the war.

Today the crash of socialism is celebrated. The basis for this is CONSENT and enforced ACCEPTANCE. This means an historical victory for the international capital. It is an important step for them towards predominancy and extension of its power in the existing imperialistic structure of power.

We can see now a new form of fascism: The form of the capitalistic democracy.

It's mass-character was forced without using the methods of the NS-fascism. They needed no concentration-camps and imperialistic-robbery wars against the people in the other continents. They could dispense the elementary moments of the NS-fascism up to a well dosed portion of rassism and chauvinism. 'GERMANY' has raised in many phases of FRG's history after the war a big crisis of legitimation in more and more groups of the society. Now it is turning into its opposite side. 'GERMANY' is becoming the ideological profit for the world-wide exploitation and suppression.

This 'profit', which mutually implies the material profit made by world-market, multi-national trust -strategy and imperialistic conquest, procures the 'necessary stability' inside the capital for the competition on the imperialistic market. If the 'victory' of the capital can be celebrated as the 'victory of freedom' about the 'socialistic dictatorship' by a propaganda-ministry, es-





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pecially installed for this reason, this shows the real dimension of European 'policy of large areas' under FRG's supremacy.

This is to realise as the 'third phase of restoration of the German capital' that get its temporary end in the 'reconstruction of the total sovereignty of the FRG'.

This process began with the total integration into the West by the USA after 45. The FRG got the function and part in the NATO as marching-up area and bulwark against the socialistic states. The process leads to a more and more independent development and creation of the European formation up to the actually existing European 'central state'.

From the first this process was secured in inner-policy by a strict anti-communism. This has to use in its origin-phase after 45 also the anti-fascism of the bourgeois.

In the 50th and 60th this process was understood as the economy-wonder Germany in a wrong way, but in reality it was nothing else than the first expression of a new cycle of the capital under the dictatorship of the USA. This was the political-economical basis of today's FRG.

Another character of this phase was the destruction of communistic and socialistic perspectives, that had survived fascism. Also the 'COMPLETION' of this destruction by social-political instruments of order like DGB (Federation of German Trade Unions) and SPD (Social-democratic party of FRG) materialized itself in FRG's history after the war.

This supposed clearing-off of the NS-fascism was ensured by the USA, and by this way the FRG could make inward and outward war directly after its phase of formation.

This what has been on the one side the 'reparations' to the state 'Israel', that was founded by the imperialism, was on the other side the destruction and the ban of the KPD (Communist party of FRG), the arrestation of masses of KPD-members and the ideological and material war against the GDR.

Under the dictatorship of the USA, the FRG enforced by that the change to the NS-successor-state nearly without fracture.

In regard on this development the FRG developed during its history an extensive political economical, military and ideological instrument for maintaining and extending its power.

Directed to the interior: Policy of preventing class-struggles by the capitalistic trade-unions, by the ban of political strikes, by the emergency laws, by several programs of counter-insurgency against the armed guerilla-groups in special and against the several groups of resistance in general.

Directed to the exterior: Economical war against and penetration of the countries and the people in the three continents for the extension of its claim on the world-market by social-democracy and 'economical aid', with the export of DM and the transfer of technology, and so on.

An elementary aim was the conquest of the GDR. For that the integration of FRG into the EC was a necessity, for carrying on the extension of the system on the continental level.

This is - in short terms - the background in front of which the FRG, within west-europe, conquers the GDR, and can likewise constitute itself as a new world-power. The annexation of the GDR is in this context a logical development for the capital.

#### Democracy and Fascism

The comprehensive condition and consequence for this kind of imperialistic policy which calls itself capitalistic democracy is to reduce the people to a function of ware (alienation). This means the conquest of everyday-life for the economical exploitation. This means not only the appropriation of the social surplus-value, but also the total destruction of the political, social and cultural identity of the people, which is inherent this process.

Today, the ruling-class uses the democratic variant: Occupation of 'free-time' by the total reality of wares. This they have learned from the experiences with the NS-fascism - to enforce the control and domination of the peoples 'free-time' by fascistic masses and fascistic violence and to transfer it into consent and forced toleration.

In front of this background, the world faces a totally new situation. A few years ago, nobody of us has thought about the possibility, that the imperialism apparently exerts such a fascination and that in many parts of the world the crisis of the socialism can turn directly into a new capitalistic dependence.

Especially the speed of the annexation of the GDR makes a lot of people afraid, because we are confronted again with a 'graet-german' state, which tries to put all forms of its former existence into the shade. Many people have lost their bearing because a political orientation is missing.

These developments do also concern ourselves, but nevertheless we have to understand the crisis of the socialism as a political-revolutionary chance for a further-on development of resistance. Otherwise we cannot ignore, that the increasing power of imperialism means a renewed and intensified attack on the people and all forms of resistance.



A new phase of class-struggles is beginning with the decay of the state-capitalistic countries in east-europe and in the same time an old one comes to an end.

In this it got clear, that a perspective of socialistic national states for europe has no material right to exist any longer.

Today, the revolutionary progress and the termination of suppression and exploitation is international or not at all. As it is necessary for the imperialists to destroy the respective movements of resistance before finishing the european formation, it is necessary for us to think and to act today in this international context.

The european integration is the mesh of the single national territories of the states and leads to their dissolution. This process owns common basics, but is, because of its territorial differences not uniform in general. So revolutionary resistance must start from the basic union of the system, without ignoring the different conditions in the several countries.

The strategical unity of the resistance in europe can only be developed in starting from this position.

Together with this development, like it is set in the process of european integration also the instrumentary of counter-revolution spread itself. For example: The Agreement of Schengen, the 'european FBI' (union of investigation), TREVI (Abbriviation for Terrorism, Radicalism, Extremism, Violence. International-secret european Workshop for counter-insurgency).

The world-wide organisation of the multinational capital has forced down nearly all socialistic countries. It will and it must integrate these countries into its hierarchic structures.

The enforced west-european integration and the extension to the east, which is included in this policy, transmittes a going further attempt of the capital, for that it can continue to exist on the international level politicaly, military and culturaly.

This process happenes in an instable phase for the capital, which we understand as a general tendency of the capitals crisis.

Here we want to remind on some examples for the developing crisis, which are less to control and less to solve for the capital: The gigantic trade-deficit and the indebtedness of the USA, the indebtedness of the 'Third World' and of the COMECON-area (Union of socialistic states), the gigantic agricultu-

ral over-production in europe and in the USA, caused by subsidies of the state, the high surplus of trade in FRG, Japan and the newly industrialized countries in south-east asia.

So this situation gets a concrete expression for example in the pressure for extending of the EC and especialy of FRG into the East. For them, this extension is an existencial necessity, to solve the contradiction between production and market on the long terme.

In that they get necessarily into compulsion with other imperialistic states and blocks. One necessary instrument AND expression of this development is the imperialistic war, even if this war, this conquest is not only leaded by military force.

One important means of regulation for the ruling-class is in this moment an extensive acceptance of free-enterprise and capitalistic penetration in the east-european countries, which is everywhere forced through with power, where it is not accepted. The situation in the south, in the colonies and neo-colonies of the imperialism is standing in contrast to this acceptance of capitalism. This system, which is producing like a factory year by year more dead people than the NS-fascism has annihilated in the concentration-camps, could produce a relative stability in the 'First World'. This situation is setting special political tasks and demands to ourselves.

For the annexion of the GDR, there was a political basis in GDR itself, which is concerning GDR's origin. The GDR was a consequence out of the NS-fascism, which was not seized by struggles from the basis.

This is the essential political background for the discussion about the annexion of the GDR by the FRG, because it shows on the one hand the political confrontation, against which the GDR had to fight and on the other hand it shows the mistakes within its origin, that makes this development possible.



## The GDR - a socialistic country ?

The GDR should have been the first socialistic state on German ground - and it was. Nevertheless it was clear very quickly after the end of the NS-fascism, that a single national perspective of a socialistic state has to stay a fiction in the rich west-europe. We understand that one reason for this was an economical problem, that it was impossible to defeat imperialism on its own terrain.

The real power of socialism in this phase was in the social rank, because nothing was more important after the end of NS-fascism, than to reach an own perspective for the social development for the people.

But the socialism in GDR tried it the other way around and was in this confronted with the conditions of world-market, set by the imperialism. On the other hand the social development among the people grew stiff. In talking about to grow stiff we mean, that the bourgeois-democratic structures in GDR have never been broken.

The old mistake: To fix social development on the development of the productive power and not the other way around. That means to fix the development of the productive power on the social basic-necessities.

And about this, the accumulation of ware-production AGAINST the social development and the development of the people. This very good to see in looking on the destruction of the native-country.

Together with this fiction of socialism in one European country, that means in a country of the 'First World', this process in the GDR must fail.

Indeed, the GDR could exist a relatively long time in the Unity of the COMECON-states, but with the end of this unity it was to see that the historical phase GDR comes to an end. Little by little the imperialistic states succeeded in de-stabilising important COMECON-countries totally and forcing them into absolute financial dependence. The Soviet Union was forced to a suicidal arming. Hungary was bought by the IMF (International Monetary Fund), in Poland the original social-revolutionary starts and struggles were destroyed and infiltrated by the CIA, and so on.

For the FRG this process was only a question of time. That what was started by the 'east-policy' of the former FRG's chancellor Brandt in the beginning of the 70th and was continued among other points in the credits of billion DM, found its 'peak' in the shout "we are one nation", controlled by the bourgeois, which made clear, that a renewed GDR for itself had no political perspective. It was swept away 'German-national'.

The actual speed of the annexion is to understand behind the following points of view: The reconstruction and transformation of the GDR's economy is an attack on all social structures in the GDR. The adjustment to the capitalistic 'level' brings all structures of power, suppression and exploitation, as they can only exist in capitalism to the GDR.

## The annexion and its conditions

The annexion is total. Destruction of all existing conditions and structures of life, unemployment, sexism and racism under a new omen and so on, all 'lively' realities of the FRG-imperialism.

So it is logical, that the annexion raises resistance, political and economical struggles. Its clear, nearly no industry in GDR can survive. And it is still to see, that for example the DGB (Federal Trade Union) tries again to destroy the consciousness of the working-class.

And: Before the resistance extends itself in quality and quantity, the experiences of FRG in suppression and putting down resistance should be valid.

But there are a lot of political and economical difficulties in the GDR which cannot be managed so quickly by the capital and its agents. One example are the problems of the DGB in the attempt of re-ordering the state-unions. The unemployment is one of the conditions that the DGB should manage in the sense of the capital. And also the capital has not managed it to institutionalize the raising fascistic movements in GDR according to the FRG-model.

All this means nothing else than that in GDR there will be a development to the right-wings, which is not comparable to the hitherto existing praxis in the FRG.

The reason of all this is, that the system is unable to abolish the problems that it produces itself. And it is more clear than ever: the plan of the FRG to raise a political clima in GDR, which is comparable to the situation in FRG after the war have failed until now.

The development in the GDR do not raise the 'effects of self-healing' as they were attempted by the FRG's capital neither the FRG could imagin of the peoples reaction on this penetration. So the FRG must make more masses of capital available at the costs of the 'own population' and of the people in the three continents.

So in GDR the instruments of regulation-policy like the police, secret-service, justice working according to the 'Modell Deutschland' (model Germany).

So the fascists are playing the necessary regulative for the capital and are becoming in the same way to a total threat for the people in GDR. Also FRG's way of coordinating the medias for making the people stupid is valid. Finally FRG is becoming by annexing the GDR to the strongest economical AND political power in Europe.

Here we don't want to forget that suppression and exploitation have got always their two sides: The one side that is suppressing and exploiting and the other side that allows the imperialism in all its forms of dominating people. Out of this point of view there was a political basic in GDR for the domination by the capitalism in two reasons. On the one side we cannot and are not allowed to disregard the consequences of the ideological war-fare of all imperialistic states,

especially of the FRG against the socialistic states, and here especially the GDR.

On the other side there was a political vacuum because of the mistakes of GDR's policy, in which the 'longing' for the ware could raise. This vacuum was founded in a social structure, which reduces the people on their only economical function. Because of this reducing the people of GDR could not work in collective on their social development and construct it according to the needs of the people, respectively to discover them new.

The measure and structure against discontent and critic was a mixture out of direct repression and the supremacy of petty-bourgeois thinking and acting. So a political and social connection raises in GDR which was based on regulation and dominion and took away peoples independent thinking, understands planned economy as pure leading of the state and forces this understanding through, declare the 'lack' to the policy of the state by decree, and so on.





The states-party SED (Socialistic-Union Party of GDR) could neither be an authentic organisation, nor it could leave the level of states-administration and regulation of contradictions. And so it is imaginable too, why there were always the same men in the policy-office and nepotism could succeed in many parts of the society.

Exactly this is important: Political organisations, partys in revolutionary sense bare within themselves the idea of self-dissolution.

A political structure has a responsibility to the whole social development. It is permanently confronted with the contradiction "leading and dissolution of the leading as a function". It is getting to a factor of power against the people up from that moment, where leading is institutionalized and policy is ideology.

This contradiction becomes very clear in look-

ing back on the history of GDR's and SED's origin.

After the Ending and the defeat of the NS-fascism the occupation of the present GDR was a pure act of the Soviet-Unions foreign-affairs. In reality of course conquered in victory about the fascism, there exists nevertheless no revolutionary structure against the NS-fascism that could have been the bearer of a new social development out of these conditions. Also as a result of the NS-fascism, which had destroyed the revolutionary organisations, there were not many communists and socialists, who could build-up the GDR to an independent and autonom state.

The first task of the occupants and also of the later GDR was to clean the former part of the fascistic Germany from still existing fascists. Nevertheless the Soviet-Union at first pulled down important branches of the production, firms and constructions. The results following from that were determinating for the economy of GDR.

The GDR was an anti-fascistic state that originated out of the experiences and against the experiences with the NS-fascism. The hopes of the people in a new future should be realized in the GDR and they did. The anti-fascism of the GDR became to the official policy of state of the young GDR.

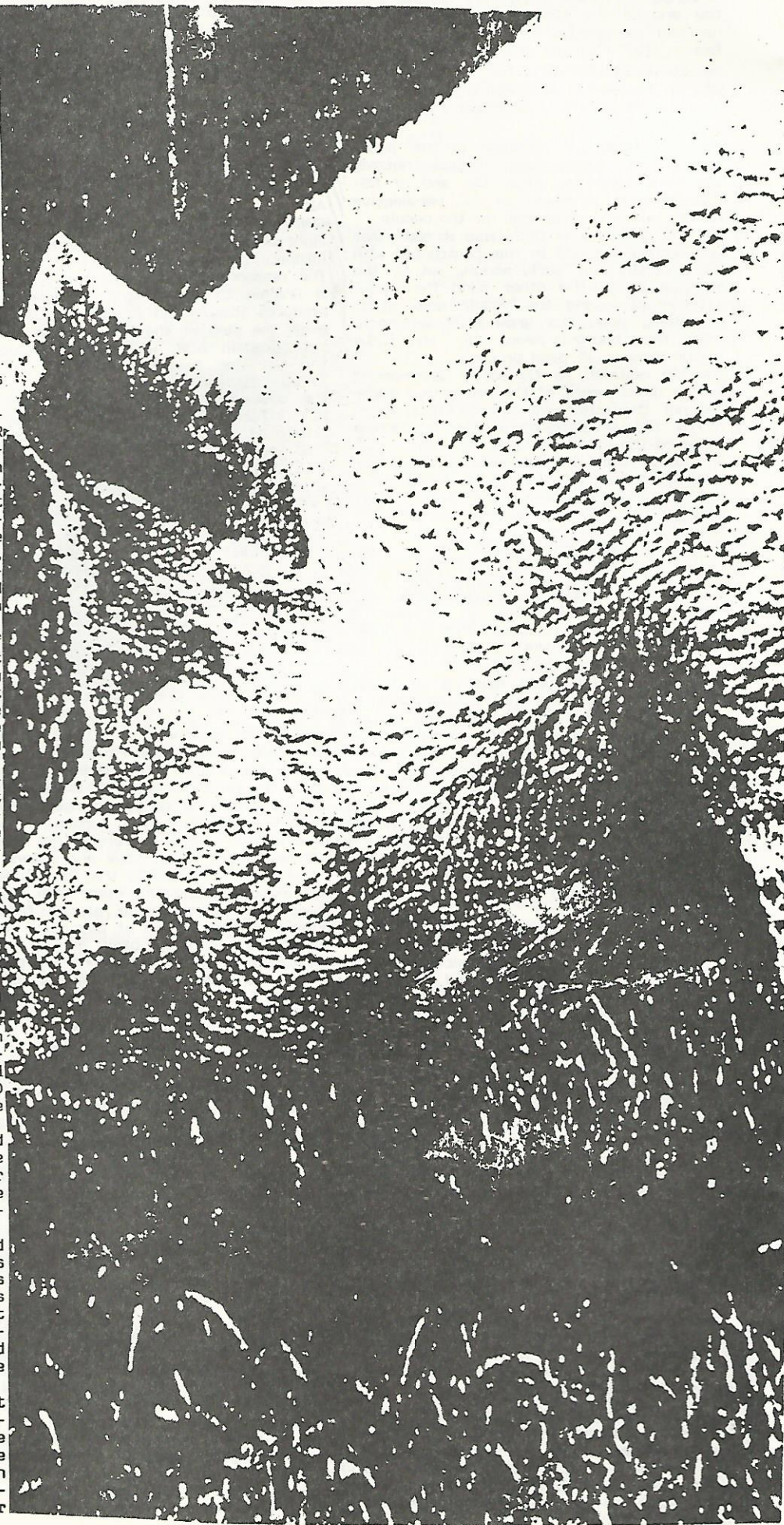
Nevertheless the GDR could not succeed in this socially and politically fundamental important reach, to make anti-fascism to a political understanding that ALL PEOPLE UNDERSTAND AND LIVE, to make it to a relation among the people.

The foreign conditions of this not happened political process was on the one side the 'cold war' of the western-ally. On the other side it was the political integration into the unity of the eastern socialism of soviet stamping, that has not grown autonomous.

The inner conditions of this not happened process: Indeed there existed a working-class in GDR. But what is the political use, if this working class do not understand itself as a class and the bearer of social change out of its history and its existing political consciousness. Respectively if it is standing fixed to this necessary communication inside the history of class-struggles.

The political and material quintessence out of this development had to be: Ware-production and Ware-society, the reduction of people on a function and the alienation of the people from their social and political basic, which comes along with this development. The ware-character became to the essence of the later development of the GDR.

And so it becomes more understandable, that a majority of the GDR-population called for the occupants from FRG. Behind this call is hidden nothing else than ware. "Deutschland





einig Vaterland" (Germany, unite father-country) is the ideological cover, that made this process of annexion actually possible. This call bears nothing revolutionary inside itself. It is in its effect and essence reactionary, because a revolutionary development could have happened only on a anti-capitalistic basic.

#### The force of the ware-society

The ware had won upon an independant development though the people in GDR. Out of its historical context it was not possible for the GDR to break down the traps and illusions that are combined with the "appearance of the ware", with the capitalistic ware-production. Its expression was the ware-production in an other social order, which has not been comparable to the FRG-reality.

And. Ware is violence! It is the capitalistic

measure for colonizing the consciousness. This surpasses all hitherto existing measures of capitalism.

Ideologically sold as consumption and satisfaction of needs, it is in reality nothing else than the economy of the imperialism, that finds its complex expression in production and consumption 24 hours a day.

It transfers all human needs into the ware-relations: Free-time arrangements by video, TV and gambling dens, capitalistic "freedom of journey", that means the destruction of the countries and societies in the three continents. Sexuality as ware - and by that as a violence-relation. Exactly this shows the logic of capitalism, of the class-society. For example, a part of the bourgeois intelligency and of the middle-class can buy themselves the illusion of 'creative free-time', but for all the people who earn lesser money, that are unemployed, the people that were pushed to the border of the society, the women and the house-wives, it becomes obvious: Nothing goes without money.

They become to a pure object of the ruling-class. And so its clear, that on the basis of the 'PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIETY' rassism, chauvinism and sexism were pushed through by violence as a measure for keeping quiet and splitting the suppressed and exploited people.

IN speaking here of pushing through by violence we mean the daily-life violence like it exists and grows against women, aliens, gays and lesbians. Like it is forced through in the concrete-gethos of the suburbs and 'comes-out' in drugs and alcohol against the people themselves.

It is the splitting and selection of the society in its single parts: THE INDIVIDUAL. Today this is the only way for the capital to make the people obedient for the accumulation of capitalistic profit.

Yet all this shows itself in the GDR. Even if it is a bit more extreme, because it is obvious that the people in the GDR will not become the same 'standart of living' as it had to grow in FRG since 1945 and was forced through against the people in the three continents.

#### Resistance?!

Nevertheless this development is not smooth and it also can never be smooth. Indeed, the capital has managed it to destroy the consciousness of the working-class about its historical part - to be the producer AND negation of the existing exploitation and suppression. Nevertheless resistance do exist where this suppression and exploitation has become to the all determining daily-life.

We are only able to say here very few about the situation of the left-wings in GDR. We can say at first how the left-wings in FRG do react on the annexion. And to that we can only notice: Lost bearing and lost perspective. We only see fears that are concerned with this exesive attack on the people.

Until now the most of us have thought little about the policy and praxis of the GDR. Yet we are missing the existence of the GDR as a counter-balance to a new Great-Germany. The FRG have not become at first to a war-leading state with the annexion of the GDR. This is simply proved for example with the delivery of poison-gas to Iraq, so that Iraq could massacre thousands of kurdish men, women and children.

What has changed as a result of the existence of FRG-imperialism yet, we can only attack and hinder as an all-european resistance-process.

#### For the revolutionary discussion!

The actual power of the imperialism shows us our political and militant weakness. We think, that there is nothing to subtilize in this.

The break within the revolutionary debate of the last 10 years is to distinct. The most left-wings, including parts of the anti-imperialistic left-wings yet till far into the 80th could apply on the so called socialistic states



(what excludes the importance of the east-west contradiction for the liberation-movements in the three continents), so today the exact opposite side shows itself. People who had supported socialism without critics become to repentants and betray their own needs, and values. About the actual changes there is nearly no discussion in a revolutionary sense.

If we want to weaken the imperialism, hinder and attack its concrete projects, than first of all central projects for ourselves is that of working-off the history, because without this knowledge we can only comment the general development.

History, that is critic and self-critic, the apparently not to master effort to conquer the own reality, actually to discover it new and to liberate it in struggling against the destruction. And it is the reconstruction of the historical memory of the suppressed and exploited people, as the reconstruction of the UNITY of theory and praxis, of the aim and structure of resistance.

And it is the former GDR too, that is standing vicarious for the whole changes under the dictation of the imperialism, as well as under the dictatorship of its own mistakes.

What else did the many people of the former GDR told us at the beginning of their resistance, than the attempt of breaking the chains of a compulsory system? What else did they say as that socialism, freedom and self-determination have not to stand in hostile opposition to each other?

And what do we say now, if a process has taken place out of a central moment of the resistance, that turns into its exact opposite side, that can make the wrong conclusions out of a whright start, because the imperialism wants it like that, because the people seem to want it like that?

Is it the power of the money, that desintegrates and turns the passion of the original resistance and transferes it into nationalism and chauvinism? Or have it been our own particular mistakes, expressed in the existence of imperialism, that hides themselves behind these facts?

We think, that our own mistakes are responsible for this development. They are expressed in the political weakness of a revolutionary factor in the first world countries. And this weakness has deeply subjective reasons, which are to search for in the history of class-struggles, in the history of the several ideas of revolutionary resistance.

The 'so called social free-market' is a killing piracy. But isn't it out task to end this all-determinating dominion and to organize us for this aim?

Haven't we got the duty to unite us in a political way with all the struggles against suppression and exploitation that are poing on everywhere on the earth for strenghtening each other?

Must'nt we take care for it, that we have to build-up a political superstructure, that can determine perspectives and periods of our struggles for a common revolutionary project without giving up the multi-farious and also different ideas in the resistance?

Isn't it our common task to put up our politically controlled violence against the anarchie of the imperialistic violence?

Only in this we can defeat the power of imperialism and attak it's central projects together with all people, wether in west-europe or in FRG alone - for us the acquisition and determination of the history, for the further development and construction of a new period of struggling.

And so it is our task to fight for it, that the work with the political prisoners from the RAF (Red Army Fraction, guerilla in FRG) and of the resistance is not standing in opposite to or beneath the international solidarity, that revolutionary womens-liberation and 'general struggle' do not neutralize each other, that the multi-farious struggles in the quaters of the citys for houses and against sanitation (May be they wanted to say 'Gentryfication', but they didn't, the trans labor) do not isolate themselves from the dimension of the west-european guerilla, and so on.

And so we want no standing besides of the struggles, but we want the diversity within in the unity, a unity that takes critic and self-critic serious and which strengthens each other in the resistance.

This unity can NEVER be a proclamation, but can only be a political and practical process, that is obtained by fighting from the basic.

Fighting together for communism  
From people out of the resistance in FRG  
September 1990



# the 3rd of october

Third of october is "day of the german unity", that means, that this day at Berlin will be the official celebration of the victory of the west-german imperialism in the war against "east". The booty of war is enormous: a whole state will be suck up to plunder unrestrictedly all the territory, the industrial (the german democratic republic is number 10 of the industrial states) and agricultural capacities and (if they will permit it) the working power of the people there. Beyond that fact the capitalism of west-germany will have a first-class position at the capitalistic utilization of the other defeated countries of eastern europe.

The final act of this war in the last 1-2 years passed without remarkable resistance in the centres of the western imperialism - not even when it became visible in a clear manner what direction the antistalinistic riots will have and how the capital of the west will profit from the development: the period of contradictions between the imperialistic states concerning the extension of power that should be permitted to the westgerman imperialism passed by and so passed by also the possible chance to obstruct / to retard / to block the growing power of the westgerman capital. That means: the possibilities to intervene in countries like Poland, Netherlands or France where the people has a lot of storical experiences with "germany" and concrete experiences with the Federal Republic of Germany passed by like the possibilities to work with the contradictions that existed - even if they were small - in both the countries FRG and GDR.

However:

Beyond the different valuations of the processes that grew up, the different discussion of "what had to be done" or which new contradictions could/should/will be sometime somehow - we, the left, the autonomen, the resistance - must remark that nobody has been able to develop a revolutionary proposal. In different words: we had and have no part in the developing process. In And it will take a lot of time and labour to change this.

In the next years we will be confronted with conditions that have changed. To describe only two of these conditions:

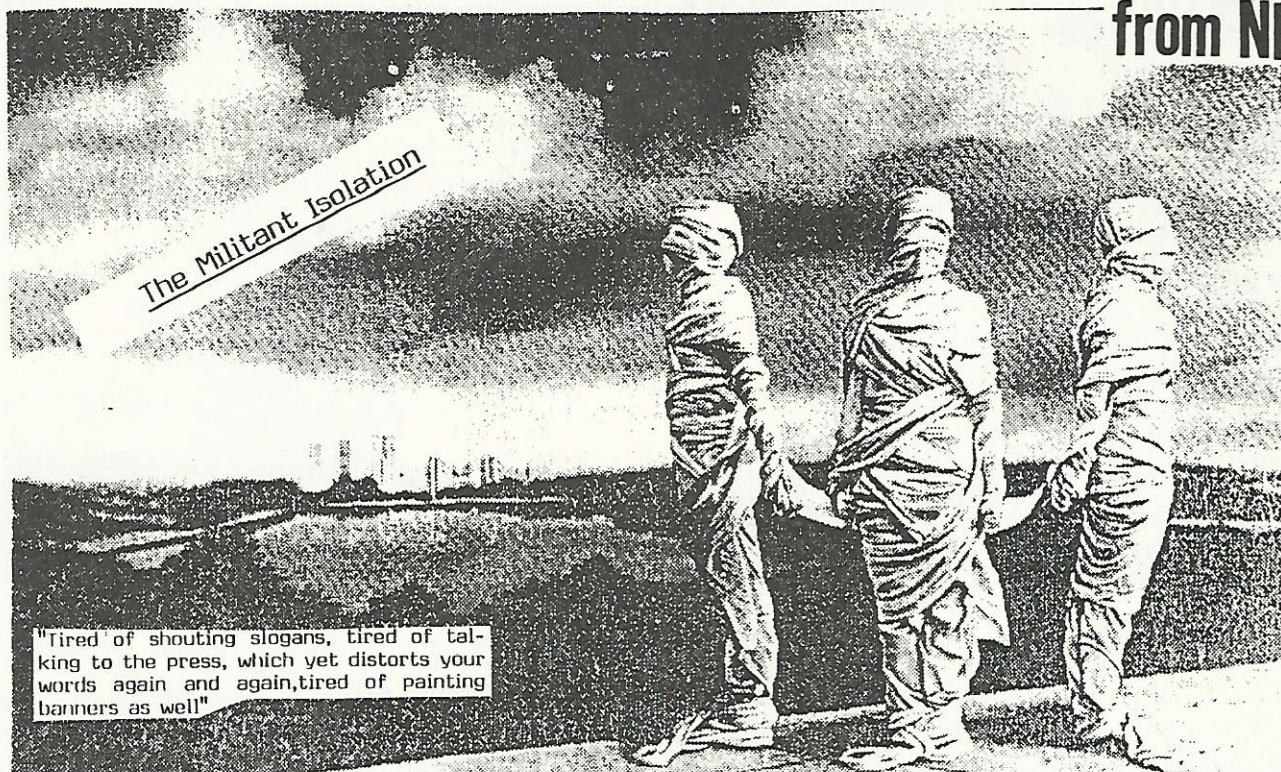
-In this days with the so-called crisis of the gulf we are witnessing that the western imperialism always objected "south" when they talked about "east-west". That means that the elimination of the soviet backstrike possibility opens new warfare options for the NATO against the countries of the three continents Africa, Asia and Southamerica (to open a bracket: naturally - the soviet union isn't a free, communist society, Iraque's regime is a regime of torture and Noriega wasn't a friend of us...)

-We don't want to make wrong comparisons (for example to El Salvador) but we think, that fascist troops in our country and with increasing number in other countries after all are meaning that form of "squadron of death" against the metropolis' left that actually is as executable as possible - a development with qualitative meaning. Naturally that is not the only function of the fascists. They are also the most militant expression of the prevailing ideology of Rassism, Sexism, Metropolis' chauvinism. But actually they obviously push us to a ground, that leads us away from the direct attack against capital and its structures... In this situation that has changed we need a new orientation - but nevertheless: today it's not all wrong that was right yesterday... For example: Yesterday we wouldn't have to ask what we have to do in a situation when there is a meeting of those who are pushing on wars and are profiting from wars, exploiters, oppressors, mass-murderers (pigs we always called them)...

The 3rd of october they will meet at Berlin!

Therefore we deem it necessary to begin the discussion about that - as fast as possible and at once. And that from the beginning on in a very practical manner. The sense or non-sense of activities against the celebrations of victory we do not consider a very significant question concerning the contents: who imagines that day and listens inside him/herself for just a moment, who imagines what they want to celebrate in front of worldwide mass-media - will also be able to imagine what kind of pictures should determine that day... That means: our proposal is not a proposal of "strategical quality", we don't want to make good the discussions about strategy which we have lost, forgotten or not have continued. Our object is: who-where-how-when-what... To realize practically if we can make this "mobilization", and how to organize that, what is necessary.





"The movement exists because of voluntariness, shared experiences, interests and threats to those interests. First of all there are organisational links because of concrete concerns. It is not familiar with theoretical discussions, ideologies or philosophers. For its continuity it is depending on moments when many powers concentrate themselves on one point, the symbols.

Spontaneity and continuity exclude each other. Actions are most of the time done to make things clear, here and now, not to commit people to itself or to gain support."

#### Time to make a halt.

sometimes you cannot help thinking about the idea that for many people history really started from the 1980's on. the period before however is as interesting and important to understand the phenomenon of the social movement and direct action movement, which came up in the transition period between the seventies and the eighties, as is its development. The issue of the activities in the sixties was for many people to bring imagination to power - something we use to look down on as being rather silly. A fresh wind would have to blow away the stinking smell of reconstruction and cold war rhetoric out of the dutch polder-landscape. Society should be democratized and fit to live in. Besides flowers, love and peace there were also less friendly expressions of rebellion.

The authorities were quite confused in the beginning: cat food was seized on a large scale for it was suggested that it was stuff. Daily fights broke out, judges cudgelled their brains about the fact if demonstrators had shouted: "Johnson murderer" (Dutch: moordenaar) or "Johnson Miller" (dutch: molenaar) to an allied head of state and half a generation enlightened themselves to a world that was more beautiful.

The 'revolution' of 68 appeared to be a turning point. The authorities reacted by force and made clear what the limit would be. In the meantime more and more offers were made for realistic solutions. These 'reasonable' solutions which meant the few possibilities still left open in the economic and social framework were transformed into appeals for a 'long march through the institutions':

The new left started to reform society through parliamentary democracy, participation projects, intensified work for common welfare etc. All kinds of spokesmen of the rebellions movements were enlisted as 'long-lost sons' in the safety of political parties and the unions. As a kind of reaction on the collapse of the protest movement and as a rejection of the long march through the institutions several others choose for the option of armed struggle: metropolitan guerrilla (Holland remained relatively quiet as far as that goes).

It was the rising of the second feminist wave which forced a clear break with traditional forms of making politics. Most of the women break with traditional forms of the women came from the leftwing movement. They were fed up with traditional male organisations.

Criticized were its party-bosses and the fact that women were again thrown back to so-called 'traditional' feminine activities: look after, listen and serve.

They looked for ways to work and structures that enforced the autonomy of each woman. There was a great aversion against abuse of power. Its structures were made horizontal (nothing could be imposed from above) and its aim was to achieve the largest possible spreading of knowledge and expertise. Apart from a different way of organisation the idea of 'everything personal is political' became very popular. Awareness and political action emerged no longer exclusively out of theories and analysis, but out of your own experiences as well, by talking about yourself and your immediate environment.

Left wing politics was along this development extended into two directions: it should involve more social phenomena (e.g. the family life) and it should offer more room to more aspects of life (like emotions for example). Extension therefore, and a change of style. The fact that those development also implied some possible negative aspects was established almost immediately as well.

This idea of politics often caused a lack of structures but it was said that because every group finds some kind of structure after all, the idea of non-structuring

only prevented the cultivation of formal structures, not the informal ones. And about the idea which said everything personal is political, something women used to enable a discussion on their own oppression, it was said that it could of course also be abused to declare only the personal political, which would put an end to the process of awareness and let it be restricted to a personal thing only.

A few of these developments, say aversion of traditional politics, also had their effect outside the womens movement. The way politics were made by left-wing parties and unions was considered as oppressive as magnitudes like the state and capital. It's within the so-called new social movements where these ideas found a sediment.

#### Happiness and Anger as Rights

"Practical things are put in the forefront and (differences of) opinion are less and less expressed. Attempts are being made to change the negative consequences of the social-economic crisis in the capitalistic system in Holland into something positive for oneself. What's the use, when you're young, to totally confront yourself with the lack of perspective in today's world. To make life yet a little bit exiting and varied, we just go for it: as long as it makes sense to us, everything is ok and what the consequences may be for us we'll see later." (2)

In contrast with the former social movements - the traditional workers movement being the most accepted example - the new social movements were mainly active with political-cultural affairs (the so called super-structure of society).

It was a cultural rupture. Opposite to the traditional system of middle-class values, fixed on a paid job, careers and the family-life ideal, the right on happiness was claimed. Live for pleasure, self-realisation and filling in your life yourself were the main issues. The search for immediate delight and spontaneity were the motives. Lots of criticism came out on modern progress, being the belief that technological and economical progress served the welfare of humanity. Doubts and disgust as well as the rationalization and professional specification of almost the entire society.



The new social movements were hardly organised; they were flexible, decentralized and short-termed. Politics, politicians and political institutions, as well as everything that only bore the smell of it, were deeply distrusted, neglected and made ridiculous.

And in this way the movements of the 80's showed their face. at a background of sharp economical crisis, a beginning no-nonsense policy, a deep no future-feeling and many frustrations of all (attempted) reforms, that didn't work in the end. A motley crowd of radicals, reformists, anarchists, feminists, critical christians, autonomes, marxists that lost their way, environmental freaks, hippies, artists and alternative people ... Radical as we all are, we are of course only interested in the radical parts of the new social movement.

Everything is allowed, nothing should be

"The devil has returned to earth in many appearances. The devil being autonomy, being a total attack on this state of oppression. Squatting, using public transport without paying. Take what you need, refuse to pay for cinema, your concerts. Work only when you really are out of money. Arrange your life, the way you want it to be. Reject the paternal instructions of the union, the political party, no matter how left-wing they present themselves. Don't let yourself any more by cops, but fight back. Total attack on this state of oppression." (3)

The squatter movement still remains the best example of the radical movement. The ideas of autonomy, 'here and now', spontaneity and arranging your life in the way you want it, were most present in this movement. It was mainly directed on here and now, loose from and apart from normal society, creating the way of life you wanted. A culture of your own, your own free spaces, language, a different way of working, living and life, different manners and direct democracy. The majority of ideas mainly have a negativ functions towards existing social relation, existing politics. The whole idea of autonomy and 'here and now' functioned as a lucky-dip actually: everybody was able to pick out he she chose, fill it yourself, no matter what.

"I think you don't have to fight for the cause of the workers or the oppressed in the third world, you can also fight for your own cause. It's a spark of light that slowly started to glow: don't take care of others peoples life, don't tell them how to live, but rather make it work that I live my kind of life together with the people that agree to me." (4)

Common ideas were: "the power of being unpredictable and elusive", reality could be avoided by putting yourself on top of it, diversity enclosed unity, creative chaos, you didn't want to be fixed on anything. "Instead of agitating, spreading leaflets, signing petitions, instead of being trapped in thinking strategically and tactically, and new road should be travelled. It was about building up networks, channels of many kinds, develop an environment, occupying hoise and ruptures: to undermine the state, make it crumble, make it for fragile, instead of destroying it. So it means refusing to be a part of the state's way of thinking in power, developing instead of that a secret, long-term, closely connected network, which works its way into the veins of society as a slowly working poison. If you are not willing to be fixed on something, you cannot be caught there.

This method was in a way successful - this network of versatile alternatives does exist, connected to each other in many ways and in the meantime still seperated by outlined claims of autonomy. This new quality, by many left-winged people considered to be impotence and again and again criticised without success, was and is a revolutionary field." (5) Still in the beginning of the 80ies so much seemed to work. The movement resembled a hurricane, attracted people moved; innumerable houses were squatted, free radios came up, bars, print-shops, books, magazines, outlaw spaces. At evictions tens of thousands showed up, the coronation was disturbed, banks were smashed, we had fun. There was relatively much support for the squatter movement. People with very different positions and backgrounds joined in for a certain period, found their own way in there. Also in numerous actions, demonstrations and riots this 'here and now feeling', acting spontaneously based on emotions and individual autonomy, could be found back. It was not so much a specific goal or stragety behind it, these were highly-personal expressions of anger and frustrations.

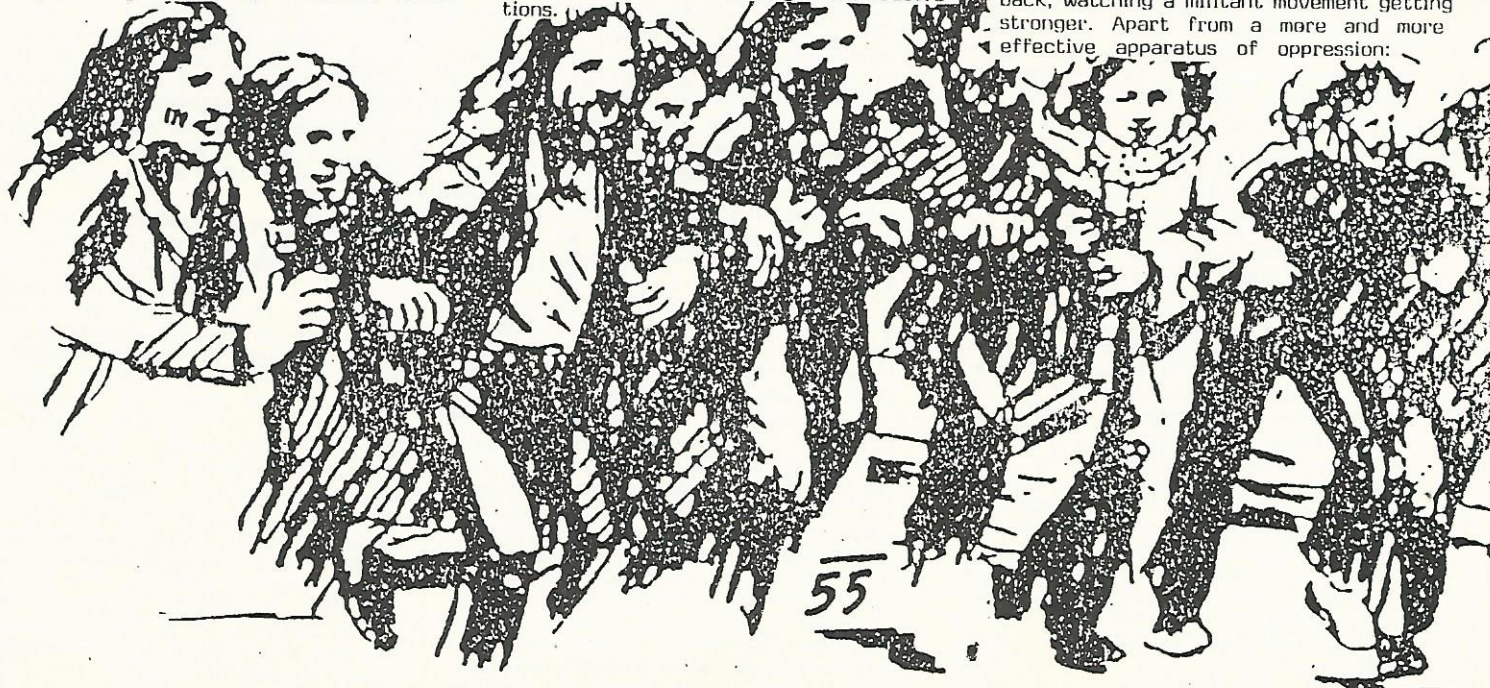
The squatting and riots at the Vondelstraat (Feb. 80) were an important turning point as far as the use of violence is concerned. Not only the fact that violence had been used on a large scale (which was a big individual decision for many people), was so important, more that this, it was successful. The use of violence or announcing it to get concessions towards direct and concrete demands became almost automatically the method.

Many criticism and arguments as well. "Are we that arrogant to think that we ensured ourselves in the Vondelstraat once and for all of the support of the population in amsterdam? Are we that naive to believe that everybody accepts every fight with the cops as an act of resistance for freedom's sake? Our shawls and helmets cover our motives as well, one black flag is not enough to make the relationship clear between the subway-train and lack of housing." (6) Tensions which existed already at the beginning, between those that saw squatting mainly as a way to create liberated spaces to lead your own life, and those that saw squatting more as a basis to realise a kind of politics, which was more directed to the outside-world, started to clash more and more frequently. "You just can't only mind your own business.

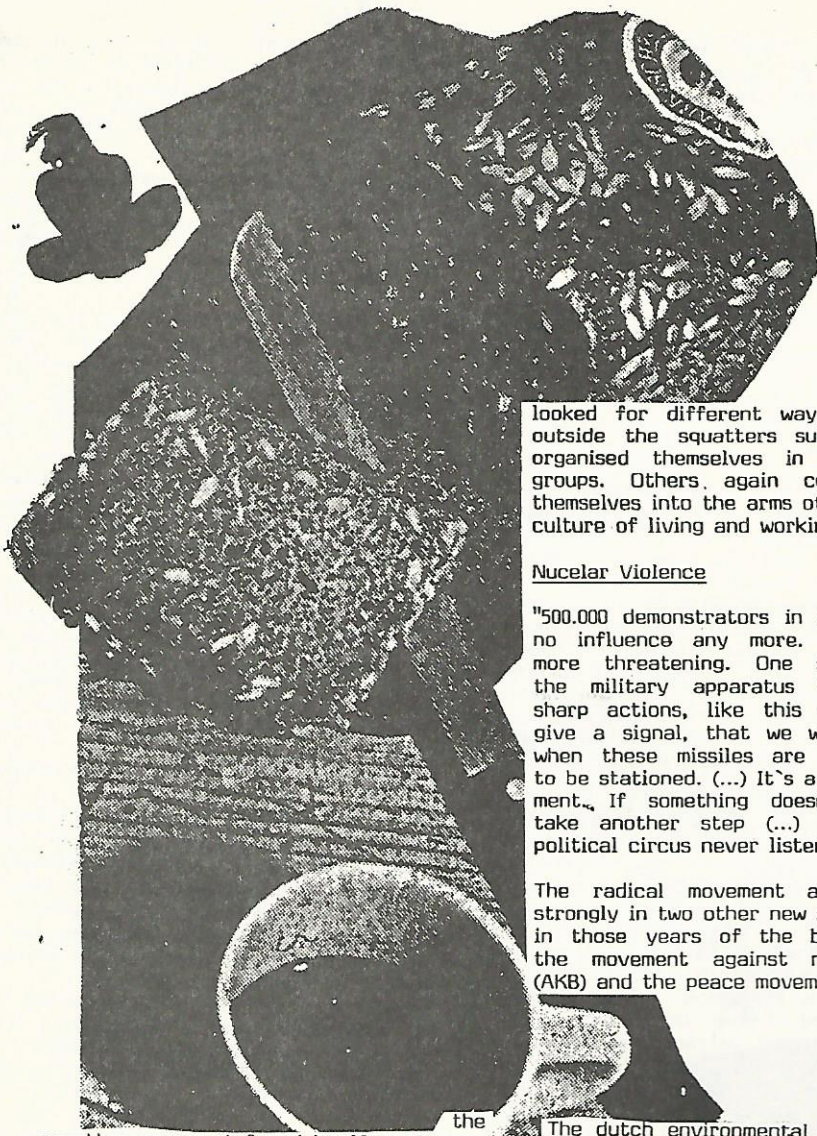
The people within this alternative world can only live in such way, because their position is exceptional. Not everyone is able to make this work (...). It's luxury reasoning to say: "I restrict myself to building my own alternative." A tiny island where some people are able to maintain their illusion". (7)

The atmosphere within the squatter-movement turned sour. Women didn't feel comfortable within the movement anymore. Bossiny, macho-behaviour, authoritarian and hierarchical tendencies, sexism, you met it everywhere. "Also men, who share, in some aspects, the same interests as women also make themselves guilty of violence against women. More 'subtle' forms, sexist remarks, shouting everything everyone down, acting with stuck ears and authoritarian behaviour happen as much in the squatter-movement as elsewhere": (8)

The awkward and unruly reality which one expected to avoid by placing oneself above or denying it, became more and more an emphatic factor in the figure of the state; for the state didn't sit back, watching a militant movement getting stronger. Apart from a more and more effective apparatus of oppression:







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looked for different ways to struggle, outside the squatters subculture. Some organised themselves in smaller, close groups. Others, again completely flung themselves into the arms of an alternative culture of living and working.

#### Nuclear Violence

"500.000 demonstrators in Den Hag except no influence any more. We should be more threatening. One should impress the military apparatus through small, sharp actions, like this occupation. To give a signal, that we will grow mean, when these missiles are actually going to be stationed. (...) It's a line of development. If something doesn't work, you take another step (...) Otherwise this political circus never listens" (10)

The radical movement also intervened strongly in two other new social movements in those years of the beginning 80ies: the movement against nuclear energy (AKB) and the peace movement.

the squatter-movement found itself confronted with a system of sharper laws, pressure by political parties, the media and partially by small adjustments in their housing-policy.

The cultivated praxis of direct action, the power of being 'unpredictable and

elusive', the idea of chaos, individual autonomy and the resentment against analysis and strategies, which had been the main cause of the movements power and its charm in its beginning together with a few other (social) developments, appeared to be paralysing in times of hardship under different conditions. The movement fixed itself more and more upon its internal world. The outside world was something people hardly cared about anymore. Everything which wasn't part of the scene belonged to the big, mean world. Where every thing and everybody was out to either cut you up in pieces or to wrap you up through comfortable lies. Everything and everybody was distrusted. We retreated only showing ourselves again when we had to hit back. "Slowly becoming an anti-eviction movement, which, odd enough, exists at the favour of evictions that in fact should be stopped. Organisational structures like telephone-lists to alarm people, meetings, contributions etc. disappeared in many neighbourhoods. (...) Organisational links didn't disappear completely, but are very depending on occasional incidents. Few possibilities are left to achieve a common strategy and the exchange of knowledge, experience and information" (9)

Despite all discussions, attempts and initiatives, little changed. No collective solutions were found. Individual solutions all the more. Many people dropped out, disappeared, 'back into society'; other

The Dutch environmental movement, which has a long tradition, was politicized through the rise of the nuclear-energy debate. More and more attention grew for the relations of power in society: through the military aspects of nuclear energy a strong interest was developed in international relations of power.

Nuclear energy had a kind of symbolic function for the radical parts of the AKB; symbol of technological and authoritarian tendencies, symbol of power (apart from the 'direct' dangers of nuclear energy, of course).

Different from the squatter movement, the radicals in the AKB, and later in the peace movement as well, set out for a political field, which was dominated already for a long time by social-democratic organisations. The question of the relationship between 'radical' and 'moderate' was a permanent issue, including all tension it caused. Ideas on and problems with things like politization, radicalisation and mobilisation were more imminent. Partially because of the nature of the struggle. In contrast with the process of retreat in the squatter-movement, a general stop of the nuclear programme should be 'extorted'. The relationship between 'radical' and 'moderate' expressed itself in many contradictions: participation - confrontation, a calm promotion of interests - actionism, being prepared to compromise - militant attitude, scientific character - spontaneous resistance and differences in doing actions and making politics: the anti-parliamentary do it yourself way vs. 'cooperation and joining in'. The essential contradiction on the field of ideas was that between ideologically explaining nuclear energy as social relations of power versus the approach of dealing with it on a practical level, as an almost technical problem.

This dividing line was more and more overshadowed by the discussions on what kind of methods should be used; after the collapse of the radical ACB (which, in comparison to the FRG, took place in an unexplainable fast process) the issue was left nearly completely to social-democratic groups and their allies. The AKB and the environmental movement changed more and more into a kind of professional emergency-office for the environment. A switch which became even more fundamental in the past few years: once starting as a political and cultural movement of protest against a highly-industrialized society, it now solves its problems. Ideologically excused in the rising of eco-capitalism.

Radical groups also threw themselves on the struggle against the 48 cruise missiles. Again with the help of the same strategy, trying to radicalize a wide and moderate peace movement, and trying to influence the political-parliamentary process of decision-making through autonomous actions. The radicalisation was mainly aimed on changing action/methods instead of political ideas within the peace-movement. Soon this led to a deadlock. radicals blaming moderates that banners don't stop missiles, moderate blaming radicals that militant actions alienate the masses of the struggle for peace, which would mean losing it. The entire peace-movement is being identified with such radical groups and is discredited by them (...) Such a signal can be given once, after which an act like this loses its function and becomes an expression of despair, an expression of dissatisfaction, which leads to nowhere and turns itself against the goal, you pursue. Because after a while you're nothing but an unreasonable violent group, which results in a position where it's even harder to realize your ideas. After all you need the support of the masses to make changes come true". (11)

Without being impressed, the radical part of the movement objected: "Therefore we expect other peace activists, who don't want or can't carry out an occupation as a method of action, that they will not disapprove or condemn our action. We are certainly not in the way of attracting more people to our movement. On the contrary when other groupings within the peace-movement dissociate themselves from us, they foster a process of isolation". (12)

Here and there the question is being raised what we seek in the peace-movement: "The eagerness with which a beginning of a revolutionary mass-movement is assumed whenever a wide range of groups support an idea, plays the leftwing tricks again. Again the silent hope appears to be wrong, that the movement yet means everything, and goals come second; we all should bear the consequences of this mistake". (13) The spectacular actions of Onkruid were of a totally different calibre. Here militarism was an entrance to explain all kinds of social contrasts. Onkruid tried to make militarism visible. In an attempt to give resistance a self-evident place in everyday life, without presenting new solutions or myths. It was all about radicalizing people to make them take command in their own environment, to restore complete control of their lives again.



Women within the AKB and the peace-movement were confronted with the same experience as women in other mixed movements: 'left wing' or 'radical left wing' didn't mean at all that women's struggle and liberation and women's specific positions became self-evident and essential parts of its politics.

#### A Cold Winter

"A mass movement, or an illusion if this, has completely fallen apart. Many people dropped out, those who are left are politically divided among themselves. A development of course closely connected to the general political changes, which not only occur in Holland, but in other countries as well. Left wing political tendencies are forced into the defensive nearly everywhere, by the rise of the new right. Fields which were politised in the 60ies and the 70ies are now depolitized again. The street to the general shopping public, moral back to the christians, politics back to the parliament, consumption for Unilever and Coca-Cola, environment for Greenpeace and university for the multi-nationals" (14)

The cruise-missiles were not stopped, nuclear plants work on maximum capacity, racist parties gain support, the squatter-movement lost much of its help. The new social movements have practically without exception been skilfully hugged to death by subsidies and absorbed in acknowledged channels for influencing government policies: lobbies, advice-committees, consultation partners. The radical movement mainly quarrels with each other. After slowly withdrawing our heads from the sky we find ourselves back on earth in a grim social scenery. Some people are shocked by the extend of isolation. ~~Social equity~~ They find themselves in. The whole society is being reorganised under the influence of the economic restructurisation. Social acquisitions and services are being cut in a raving speed, benefits are cut, wages go down, mass dismissals, educational and university programs are restructured, welfare and health care are being damaged, nothing seems to stop it.

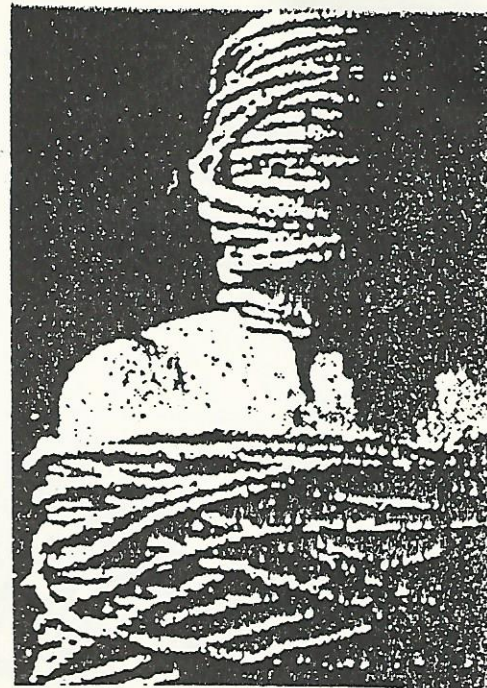
Bitter fights broke out on various social fields. Fights that were lost in the end by total inflexibility of no-nonsense policies. Yet there is much at stake. The complete range of sexist and racist measures are carried out. The present enormous economic changes need a social structure and consciousness to match. The left wing parties and unions have no answers at all to the actual measures and this ideological struggle.

In no time the Big Adjustment began.

The radical left is watching from the sideline. She doesn't know at all what to do with social conflicts. The entire field of political economics had been neglected in all these years. It became more and more clear how limited the number of social fields was, on which the movement concentrated its activities. One had to pay a high price for self-determined life. The radical movement nearly lost all contact with the reality of daily life through its retreat in squats. Confrontations on the streets constantly had the same ritual and more carried out by small groups. Mutual discord kept on growing, whereas political discussions were relatively backward. Very seldom attempts were being made to point out the change in circumstances and the changed forms of conflicts we were confronted with, where methods of the past couldn't be used gratuitously.

"According to me a lot of things are now more seen in leftwing-rightwing proportions, which results in actions having political much more consequences on a long term. I think that especially the fight against racism and neo-fascism will grow more important, a fight, which is influenced, according to me, by everything that will happen on the streets, apart from those confrontations. This fight has quite a different character as squatting for example. Although the co-existence of different styles and methods in the various squatter-groups and neighbourhoods has led to heavy discussions in bars and in the media about good squatters and bad ones, cooperation yes or no etc., meanwhile everybody continues with their lives, and even when the squatter-movement is close to its end, as some say, nobody will really be finished. It's a pity, but we will arrange something.

The confrontation with neo-fascism and racism however, which will be fought out in the years that come, can't be lost by anyone, nobody could afford it." (15) Some people also plead for being more open and accessible to the outside-world: "The doubts that many people have at actions where violence is being used, the media reactions and the way many people outside the inner circle think about it, can't just be argued away. Not everybody with criticism on you is automatically a reactionary and naive person. No more all people which have doubts your opponents. We can't base ourselves on the assumption that everything is clear and all discussions have taken place, so one should only be

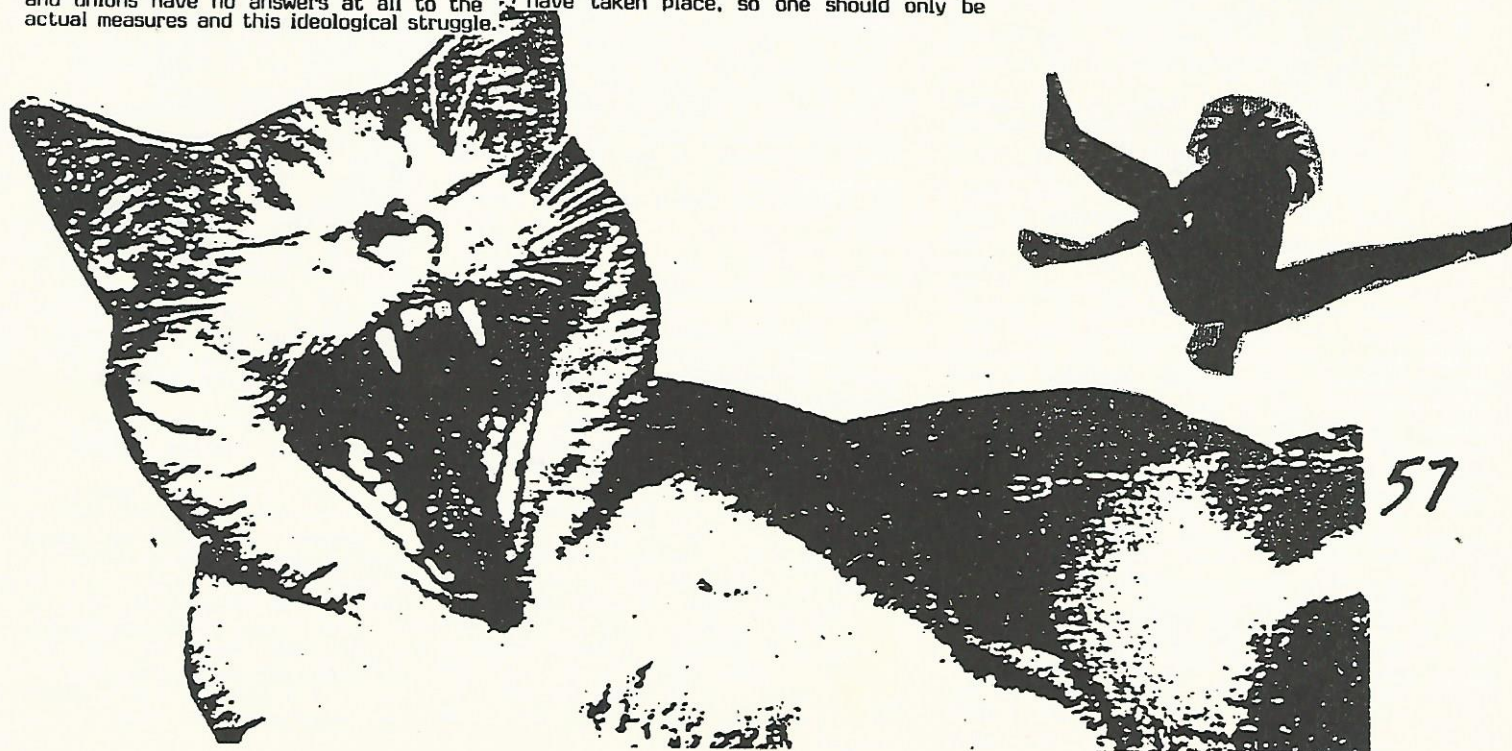


busy with self-evident solidarity after an action and ignore all criticism in advance.

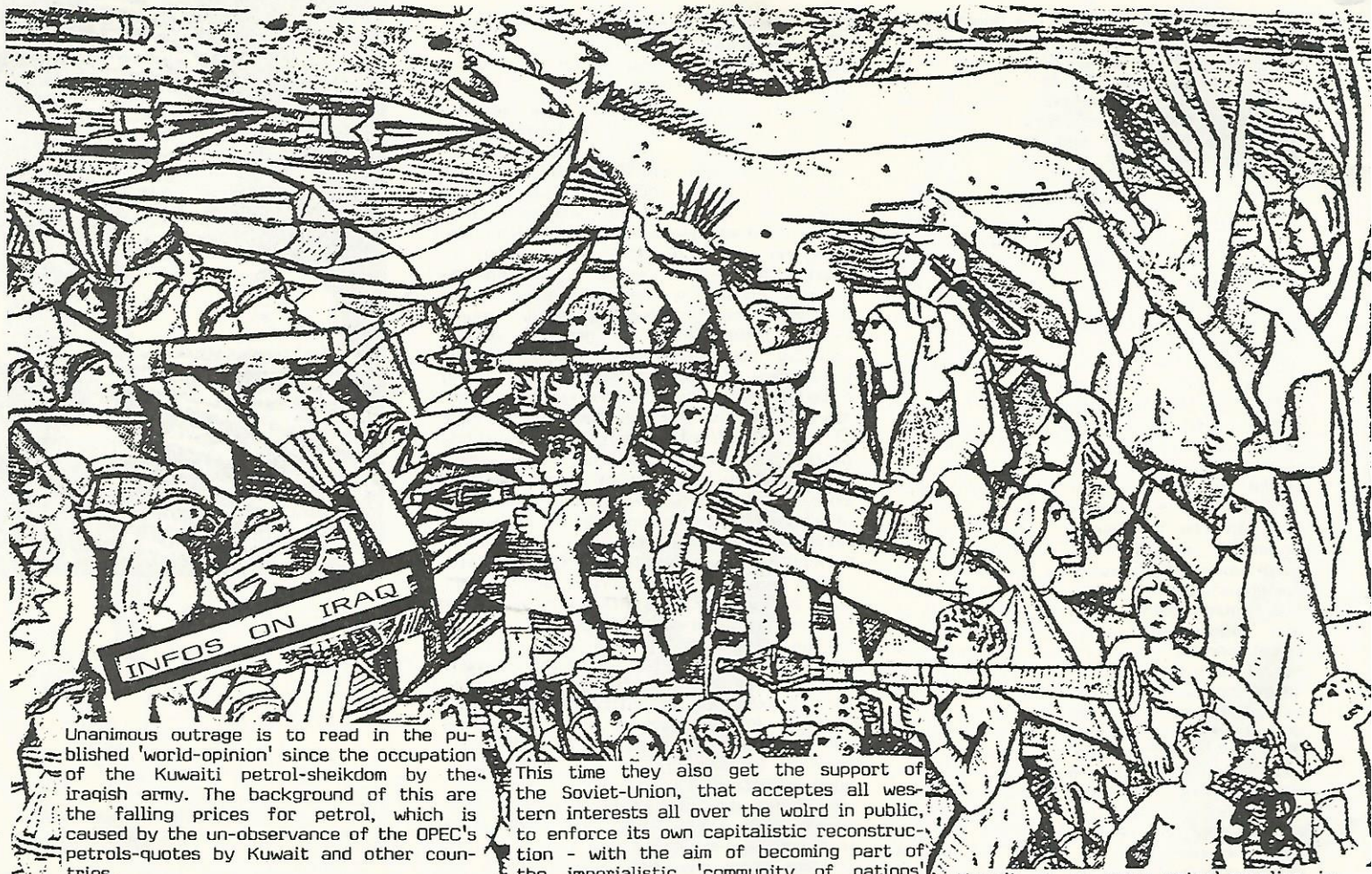
I think nobody who thinks of him/herself as a politically conscious person, can shirk his/her duty for a long period, to render an account of his/her actions and such not only in a close circle of companions, where solidarity just might to be too self-evident. We don't live in a small secure world where nothing can go wrong and where you just able to do whatever you feel like. You will have to take into account such apparent vaguenesses as a political climate." (16)

Though organising a congress people tried to break through the confusing discussions of the last few years, the isolated status, mutual discord and all deadlocks.

(END PART 1.)







Unanimous outrage is to read in the published 'world-opinion' since the occupation of the Kuwaiti petrol-sheikdom by the iraqish army. The background of this are the falling prices for petrol, which is caused by the un-observance of the OPEC's petrols-quotes by Kuwait and other countries.

In annexing this petrol reservoir the Sadam regime hopes to redevelop its own tired out economy and - furthermore - to reach supremacy in the arab world. For this he exploited the discontent of the own oppressed population.

Unanimously the United Nations passed a total trade embargo. The observance of this embargo is taken as the argument for the NATO-invasion into the arab area. More than 100.000 soldiers, war-ships, bombers and fighting-aircrafts are on their way to Saudi-Arabia and Turkey, if they have not still arrived.

#### What is the reason of this NATO-invasion?

Is it perhaps an 'aggression in contradiction to the international law of nations' or is it for to protect the 'sovereignty' of the one-family-concern called Kuwait? None of it!

Remember the same iraqish regimes attack on Iran in 1980. Did anybody threatened with an embargo, called the same Sedam Hussein a 'terroristic dictator' or an new 'Hitler'? No, the imperialists - the economical and political responsables of the western states - were content with the attack on the post-revolutionary Iran, where it hadn't been obvious yet, how the reactionary but anti-western mullahs were going on to develop. Though Iraq was publicly equipped with the most progressive weapon-systems available at that time.

The imperialists took enormous profit by the stirred-up material warfare and did that not only since the end of the gulf-war in 1988, where they gain by the reconstruction of both countries. Not to talk about the terroristic attacks on Grenada and Panama by the USA and the ignored sanctions against rassist terror-regimes as South-Africa and Israel.

No, the NATO is willing to force the mainspring of their capitalistic economical machinery, the arab petrol-region, under its control after their satraps, the reactionary sheiks of the gulf region, obviously did not succed in their task.

This time they also get the support of the Soviet-Union, that accepts all western interests all over the world in public, to enforce its own capitalistic reconstruction - with the aim of becoming part of the imperialistic 'community of nations' and to redevelop upon the back of the three continents (Latin-America, Asia, Africa)

The arab league votes in majority pro this intervention too - hence the reactionary arab regimes have no chance to keep power against the impoverished oppressed arab masses without all kinds of imperialistic support.

By a radical anti-imperialistic rhetoric, by preaching a new panarabism and vain threatens against the zionistic state of settlers Israel, Sadam Hussein is trying to instrumentalize the arab masses for his searching for supremacy.

He wants to extinguish the memorial of the massacre of 10.000 communists and other opponents after he had seized power, his dictatorial way of keeping power, 1.000.000 people he sent into their death during the war with Iran and the murder of thousands of Kurds by poison-gas.

That the peoples memory seems today to be buried is caused by the arab revolutionary left-wings weakness.

There are several reasons for the prompt and heavy reaction of the imperialist states and of the former socialistic Soviet-Union.

#### Grip on arab petrol-wells

1. The most important reason is the petrol. During the last years the USA openly spread not to accept gulf-regions petrol delivery being endangered. Also a few years ago the NATO extended its operational area on the gulf-region for the same reason, that Gorbachow calls the 'legitimate western interests'. Kuwait - dismissed from british mandatory rule in June 1961 - is no historical grown state, but was created and planned by the imperialist states as a compliant to the West-enclave in the ever being difficult to control arab area: A petrol-pump-station, that is always loyal to the imperialists. Iraq demands on this access to the arab gulf were answered by a british threaten to counter militarily only weeks after Kuwaits 'independence'.

Kuwait as an easy petrol-supplier is threatened to get lost. Not that Iraq under Hussein will not sell its petrol to the western states as well but Iraq as a very big, unstable country is less to calculate, always a factor of insecurity for the imperialism. And: An alliance of arab states (no matter on which way) cannot be in the interest of the imperialism. The more dissensive the arab states were among each other the better this situation is for the imperialistic states. Kuwait as a price-breaker of the OPEC has shown this very often.

#### Military bases: "We will establish ourselves"

2. But the worry about the petrol-supply is not the only reason. Different to middle and south america, it has been difficult for the USA up till now to settle in the arab region. It was prevented by the arab nationalism and the anti-imperialistic attitudes of the arab masses.

Now the US-imperialism took the opportunity to get into Saudi-Arabia and other states. No matter how the affair will end, the USA will try to keep and to expand the newly gained bases by all means.

They will try to keep and to expand the bases to counter the arab revolution and all future mass-movements in arab countries opposing obsolete societies and so becoming a real danger to imperialism - because the arab reactionary regimes at their bottom have always been usefull for the imperialistic interests.

#### The NATO and Israel in struggle against the palestinian-arabian revolution

3. The supreme imperialistic interest is to counter the palestinian revolution and to prevent the palestinian spark from jumping to the peoples-masses in other countries - and here the imperialistic interests are coming together with the interests of the reactionary regimes.

At the same time Israel pushes its plans of Great-Israel (Erez-Israel), containing parts of Egypt, Syria and Jordan, using the immigration of 100.000 soviet jews.





In the next years it is to reckon with the attempt of an occupation of these countries, or parts of them - as in 1948, when Israel started a conquest-war after a large immigration-wave and as in 1967, when Israel occupied aegypt (Sinai), syrian (Golan-plateau, then annexed in 1981) and further palestinian (Gaza, Westbank) regions. The imperialistic countries and their zionistic outpost cannot rely on the arab regimes to react in case of such an attack as quiet as they did in the last 10 years. So the yet created bases have a very direct function of putting the screws on the arab forces together with Israel jointly, if, for example, the zionists attack Jordan.

The legitimation and assertion of a permanent direct imperialistic presence in the arab region has to be understood as important and supreme aim of the NATO invasion into the gulf-area:

Directed against the arab national-movements and against the revolutionary movement of the struggle in Palestine and other countries and for to secure the zionistic extension (the best guarantee for the counter-revolutionary status quo).

FRG-imperialism: New self-confidence in the air, in the water, on the ground

FRG has not become a super-power at first by annexing the GDR, as so many liberals want to teach us nowadays - Now FRG takes the opportunity to be active and to stand in the frontline of the imperialistic strike against countries of the three continents too.

The urge of FRG to play a more independent military part besides the US-imperialism too is as old as the FRG itself and not born at first at november the 9th in 1989.

The Westeuropean Union (WEU) and especially the enforced military-political cooperation with France since the beginning of the 80th show the attempts of the FRG to construct in and with the west-european states an unificated bloock which is not only economically but also military able to play an independent part besides the US-imperialism and Japan for pushing through its own interests.

This is only possible by the economical sthrenghtening of the european bloock and the FRG. Inner resistance is hardly to be expected in FRG.

The euro-centrism of 1983's peace-move-

ment became a national-german demand on the 'responsibility of a super-power'. In the green party and in the newspaper TAZ (politically fixed to the Greens, the translator) a military intervention into the gulf-region with the support of the Federal Defence Forces is openly discussed and also in fact or by principal defended. (TAZ 11.8.90)

The open approval and propaganda pro a military intervention that includes the Federal Defence Forces is to find in all bourgeois medias and even also in liberal and green circles. This situation is new. It is a decisive point for the FRG and reminds us to the social-democrat's national-german standing at attention to the imperialism in 1914, when the SPD approved to the war-credits and the emperor knew "no more parties but only germans".

The tasks of the internationalistic left-wings

The tasks of the internationalistic left-wings in view on this situation is evident: Without supporting the reactionary Sadam-regime, we have to take a clear anti-imperialistic point of view: To develop resistance against the NATO-invasion and against the direct settling of the imperialism into the gulf-area, to against the sending-out of FRG-military into the gulf-region and to condemn the trade-embargo as directed against the iraish masses. The trade-boycott and the sea-blockade against Iraq are economical and military acts of war by the imperialism. To stand on the side of the imperialism and to adapt the imperialistic demands for themselves can never be and must never be the task of the left-wings. An interference of the imperialism into the countries of the three continents is always sever to its dominion-interests.

It is our task to support the liberation-fight of the suppressed people and to weaken the imperialism wherever it is possible for ourselves.

Leafelet of Palestine-Solidarity Hamburg



## EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER FROM BRAZIL TO CLASH

Dear comrades!

We are very interested in your european Widerstand newspaper and would like to receive the next numbers of it.

Here, in Brazil, we are paying attention

to the changes in Europe. Of course, these changes will cause consequences to the fight and new and more terrible strategies of cops' repression will be developed. We are very happy to see the West european countries as example of democracy, respect of human rights and dignity of the citizens, way of life and social-economic organization.

For us, it's very important receiving information about repression and strangers situation in order to show in a better way, we mean with recent facts as examples, that even in Europe the capitalism have your dark face of exploitation and repression against everybody that dream with a better society and fight for it.

### EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER TO CLASH

(...) Moreover, the situation in Brazil isn't very good. In the cities like Rio the number of homeless, specially children is very high. More than two millions live in slums. The violence went to incredible level. Now in Rio people are killed like in a war: almost ten killings per day. And we are not considering the death caused by car accidents.

A new president was elected a few months ago and his government is using fascist methods: massive political marketing, hard

and violent repression against the organized movement, strategies to maintain a weak legislative power and so on. Our economic situation, before the beginning of his government was caotic: high inflation rate (more than 800% per year) and a great desorganization of the production.

Collor (our new president) created an economic plan that stopped with the inflation but the unemployment rate grew up, and the salaries falled down. Because of all this, probably we will have a period with a lot of social disturbs. Signs of it are noticed just now: Conflicts between cops and peasants without land to work are turning more and more violent. A strike in Sao Paulo ended with the factory seriously damaged. The government and the press is accusing the workers in strike of using sabotage methods and try to criminalize the strike.(...)

Rio de Janeiro, 19.9.90

## SOUTH-AFRICAN president visits THE NETHERLANDS AND VISITED GREECE...

We stole this article from an amsterdamsche scene newspaper

"So, de Klerk wants to come to the Netherland?!"

The dutch minister of foreign affaires declared to a south african radio that he is hoping to be able to welcome de Klerk "probably in october" in the netherland.

It is expected that he will be welcomed by the dutch queen Beatrix.

At the following de Klerk was welcomed in Greece...

On the 11th of may the Southafrican president de Klerk made an official visit to Greece. The national students organisation called up people for a demonstration were -to about 3-4000 people came, amongst them 1000 anarchists.

Three anarchists were arrested, from which one of them was hospitalised. Two were released on bail but one, Vangelis Grivas is still being imprisoned in the Korydallos prison Pireas.

DO THE RIGHT THING!  
(source: Black Flag)

After a manifestation in front of the University the demonstration went to the houses of parliament. When the cops tried to keep the anarchists away from the houses of parliament fights broke out. The cops were thrown back by a rain off about 150 molotov cocktails and the demo was able to continue its way. Later on the ministry of foreign affairs was attacked with molotov cocktails as well.

